

Chalmers M. Roberts

# Helms, the Shah and the CIA

THERE IS A CERTAIN irony in the fact that Richard Helms will go to Iran as the American ambassador 20 years after the agency he now heads organized and directed the overthrow of the regime then in power in Teheran. The tale is worth recounting if only because of the changes in two decades which have affected the Central Intelligence Agency as well as American foreign policy.

Helms first went to work at the CIA in 1947 and he came up to his present post as director through what is generally called the "department of dirty tricks." However, there is nothing on the public record to show that he personally had a hand in the overthrow of the Communist backed and/or oriented regime of Premier Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953, an action that returned the Shah to his throne. One can only guess at the wry smile that must have come to the Shah's face when he first heard that President Nixon was proposing to send the CIA's top man to be the American envoy.

The Iranian affair, and a similar CIA action in Guatemala the following year, are looked upon by old hands at

and the country was thrown into crisis. Mossadegh "connived," as Wise and Ross put it, with Tudeh, Iran's Communist party, to bolster his hand. The British and Americans decided he had to go and picked Gen. Fazollah Zahedi to replace him. The man who stage-managed the job on the spot was Kermit "Kim" Roosevelt (who also had a hand in some fancy goings-on in Egypt), grandson of T.R. and seventh cousin of F.D.R., and now a Washingtonian in private business.

Roosevelt managed to get to Teheran and set up underground headquarters. A chief aide was Brig. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who, as head of the New Jersey state police, had become famous during the Lindbergh baby kidnapping case. Schwarzkopf had reorganized the Shah's police force and he and Roosevelt joined in the 1953 operation. The Shah dismissed Mossadegh and named Zahedi as Premier but Mossadegh arrested the officer who brought the bad news. The Teheran streets filled with rioters and a scared Shah fled first to Baghdad and then to Rome. Dulles flew to Rome to confer with him. Roosevelt ordered the Shah's backers into the streets, the leftists were arrested by the army and the Shah returned in triumph. Mossadegh went to jail. In time a new international oil consortium took over Anglo-Iranian which operates to this day, though the Shah has squeezed more and more revenue from the Westerners.

In his 1963 book, "The Craft of Intelligence," published after he left CIA, Dulles wrote that, when in both Iran and Guatemala it "became clear" that a Communist state was in the making, "support from outside was given to loyal anti-Communist elements." In a 1965 NBC television documentary on "The Science of Spying" Dulles said: "The government of Mossadegh, if you recall history, was overthrown by the action of the Shah. Now, that we encouraged the Shah to take that action I will not deny." Miles Copeland, an ex-CIA operative in the Middle East, wrote in his book, "The Game of Nations," that the Iranian derriug-do was called "Operation Ajax." He credited Roosevelt with "almost single-handedly" calling the "pro-Shah forces on to the streets of Teheran" and supervising "their riots so as to oust" Mossadegh.

TODAY THE IRAN to which Helms will go after he leaves the CIA is a stable, well armed and well oil-financed regime under the Shah's command which has mended its fences with Moscow without hurting its close relationship with Washington. The Shah has taken full advantage of the changes in East-West relations from the Cold War to today's milder climate. While Iran and Guatemala were the high points of covert CIA Cold War ac-

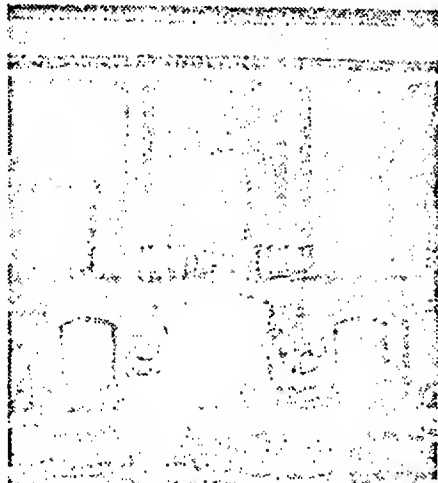
tivity, there were plenty of other successful enterprises that fell short of changing government regimes. Today the CIA, humiliated by the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco it planned and ran, has withdrawn from such large scale affairs as Iran, save for its continuing major role in the no longer "secret war in Laos." The climate of today would not permit the United States to repeat the Iranian operation, or so one assumes with the reservation that President Nixon (who was Vice President at the time of Iran) loves surprises.

The climate of 1953, however, was very different and must be taken into account in any judgment. Moscow then was fishing in a great many troubled waters and among them was Iran. It was probably true, as Allen Dulles said on that 1965 TV show, that "at no time has the CIA engaged in any political activity or any intelligence that was not approved at the highest level." It was all part of a deadly "game of nations." Richard Bissell, who ran the U-2 program and the Bay of Pigs, was asked on that TV show about the morality of CIA activities. "I think," he replied, that "the morality of . . . shall we call it for short, cold war . . . is so infinitely easier than the morality of almost any kind of hot war that I never encountered this as a serious problem."

PERHAPS the philosophy of the Cold War years and the CIA role were best put by Dulles in a letter that he wrote me in 1961. Excerpts from his then forthcoming book had appeared in Harper's and I had suggested to him some further revelations he might include in the book. He wrote about additions he was making: "This includes more on Iran and Guatemala and the problems of policy in action when there begins to be evidence that a country is slipping and Communist take-over is threatened. We can't wait for an engraved invitation to come and give aid."

There is a story, too, that Winston Churchill was so pleased by the operation in Iran that he proffered the George Cross to Kim Roosevelt. But the CIA wouldn't let him accept the decoration. So Churchill commented to Roosevelt: "I would be proud to have served under you" in such an operation. That remark, Roosevelt is said to have replied, was better than the decoration.

Helms doubtless would be the last to say so out loud but I can imagine his reflecting that, if it hadn't been for what Dulles, Kim Roosevelt and the others did in 1953, he would not have the chance to present his credentials to a Shah still on the peacock throne in 1973.



1953: Teheran rioting that overthrew the government left the United States Point Four office with gaping holes for windows and doors.

the agency as high points of a sort in the Cold War years. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross have told the Iranian story in their book, "The Invisible Government," and the CIA boys at the time, Allen Dulles, conceded in public after he left the government that the United States had had a hand in what occurred.

IRAN IS NEXT DOOR to the Soviet Union. In 1951 Mossadegh, who confused Westerners with his habits of weeping in public and running government business from his bed, nationalized the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and seized the Abadan refinery. The West boycotted Iranian oil

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## Behind the Curtain

It is not given to ordinary mortals to know much of what goes on behind the cloak of the Central Intelligence Agency. We are not told, for example, how much money it has to spend—although reports suggest it exceeds \$750 million annually. No more are we told of what it does with the money—although there is a general understanding it fields perhaps 10,000 people throughout the world on shadowy missions, some more activist than others, to ferret out information useful in shoring up this nation's security. What few can know outside the highest governmental levels is precisely what policies the CIA pursues and how effectively, or ineffectively, it manages them. At the Bay of Pigs, according to some versions, the CIA stumbled badly. In its estimates on the military capabilities of North Vietnam, to go by the Pentagon Papers, the CIA has been consistently more accurate—and more ominous—than most. But these are only random clues too skimpy for an illuminating pattern.

One result of this studied mystery is that the CIA has no public constituency of its own, that it must stand silent and undefended before the will of the only authority to which it need answer. This is the White House, which has just announced a change in the directorship. Richard Helms, something of a professional in intelligence work, is replaced by James R. Schlesinger, a younger man impressively conditioned in more varied administrative fields. At first glance, and to the extent that an appraisal is possible, Mr. Schlesinger has the air of a man well up to his challenging, tricky new job. The only qualm about the changeover arises from suggestions—facts, of course, being unavailable—that Mr. Helms is being shipped out because the CIA under his leadership has not shared the rosy view of the Vietnamese operations which the White House prefers. Mr. Schlesinger must resist any temptations to paint up Vietnam to some hue which, however desirable, the truth is too bleak to warrant.

22 DEC 1972

# A.E.C. Chief to Replace Helms as C.I.A. Director

**Schlesinger, 43, Chosen  
—Intelligence Official  
to Be Envoy to Iran**

By JACK ROSENTHAL  
Special to The New York Times

KEY BISCAYNE, Fla., Dec. 21 —President Nixon said today that he would nominate James R. Schlesinger, who is chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to be Director of Central Intelligence.

He said also that he would nominate the current director, Richard Helms, to be Ambassador to Iran.

Mr. Helms's departure from the C.I.A. was described as a retirement, consistent with his feeling that he, like other C.I.A. officials, should retire at age 60. He will be 60 in March. There had been rumors that Mr. Helms was being forced out of his job.

The White House took pains to affirm the President's appreciation for Mr. Helms's 30 years of public service and for the fact that it will continue. At the same time, the departure from the C.I.A. is touched with symbolic overtones.

In the opinion of knowledgeable officials, it means the end of an era of professional intelligence operatives and the beginning of an era of systems management. Mr. Helms, who

once interviewed Hitler, as a reporter, epitomizes a generation that developed its expertise during World War II and subsequently helped to create the C.I.A. When appointed in June, 1966, he was the first careerist to become D.C.I.—Director of Central Intelligence.

Mr. Schlesinger, by contrast, is a 43-year-old economist and political scientist schooled in strategic studies, systems analysis, and defense spending. The author of a detailed report on the intelligence community for



The New York Times  
James R. Schlesinger

Mr. Nixon last year, he is expected to take over at the C.I.A. as soon as he is confirmed by the Senate.

Both the Helms and Schlesinger appointments had been forecast.

No successor was named to the A.E.C. chairmanship, which Mr. Schlesinger has held since August, 1971. Before that he had been with the Office of Management and Budget, concentrating on national security and international affairs.

## Cost Issue Noted

That experience, coupled with the Administration's apparent interest in the cost and redundancy of intelligence programs, led a close student of C.I.A. to suggest today that what Mr. Nixon now wanted was "more cloak for the buck."

Details about "the agency," as the C.I.A. is known in the Government, are classified. But it is thought to have a budget of more than \$750-million a year and more than 10,000 employees. Most are involved in intelligence—technical assessment, analysis and estimates.

A "plans division" conducts clandestine operations, such as the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. Mr. Helms once directed this division, but not at the time of the Cuban invasion.

His new assignment is to a country whose leader was strongly assisted, according to wide belief, by a clandestine C.I.A. operation in 1953. The agency was reputed to have had a role in the overthrow of Mohammed Mossadegh, then premier, permitting the Shah of Iran to reassert his control.

If confirmed by the Senate, Mr. Helms will succeed Joseph S. Farland, who has been Ambassador to Iran since May. The White House said today that he would return to Washington and be reassigned to another post.

According to a private source, the outgoing Deputy Secretary of State, John N. Irwin, is Mr. Nixon's choice to become Ambassador to France. The position has been vacant since the departure in early November of Arthur K. Watson, who is Mr. Irwin's brother-in-law.

In the first news briefing of the President's week-long Christmas trip here, Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, also dealt with the following appointments topics:

Mr. Nixon has accepted "with very special regret" the resignation of David M. Abshire as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Mr. Abshire will become chairman of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies on Jan. 9.

Speculation about the directorship of the Federal Bureau of Investigation should be discounted for the time being Mr. Ziegler said. One newspaper has reported that Acting Director L. Patrick Gray will be formally nominated, another has said he would not be, and a third has been in between, Mr. Ziegler said. The fact is, he continued, that no decision has been made.

Another vacancy arose in Washington today with the resignation of John P. Olsson after 20 months as deputy under secretary of transportation to return to private business.

Mr. Helms's new position comes after 30 years in intelligence work. After graduation from Williams College, he became a United Press correspondent in Germany from 1935 to 1937. Until 1942, when he was commissioned as a Navy officer, he was in newspaper advertising.

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## Kennedy Role After Raid Is Criticized

Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr., who was inspector general of the CIA during the Bay of Pigs invasion, has criticized the late President John F. Kennedy for the way he handled the aftermath of the invasion.

"If the President makes the policy, get rid of Castro, that is about the last he should hear of it," Mr. Kirkpatrick said. "If something goes wrong, he can fire and disavow, which is what a President should do, not acknowledge and accept blame. Of course, I am being critical of the President, but I think that this is essential in this area (covert operations)."

According to Mr. Kirkpatrick, Allen Dulles, director of the CIA at the time, told the President "If you wish, I will go." The President refused.

Mr. Kirkpatrick said, "He (Mr. Dulles) was a very wise and able man, and he recognized that when an intelligence failure takes place, the first expendable person is the director of the operation."

In the forward to his book, "A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House," Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. writes:

"Then after the Bay of Pigs he (the President) said, 'I hope you kept a full account of that.' I said I had understood he did not want us to keep full accounts of anything. He said, 'No, go ahead. You can be damn sure that the CIA has its record and the Joint Chiefs of Staff theirs. We'd better make sure we have a record over here. So go ahead.'"



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# Ex-Official of the CIA Assesses Failure of Bay of Pigs Invasion

By JACK WHITE

The inspector general of the Central Intelligence Agency at the time of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion says the exiled Cuban invaders should have been trained at military bases in the United States, rather than on a plantation in Guatemala.

Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr., now a professor of political science at Brown University, does not say that training the exiles in the United States would have resulted in the overthrow of the Fidel Castro regime.

But he does say, "In retrospect, the use of U.S. bases would have been more feasible because we did have the capability for controlling access to a sizable geographical area.

"We could have isolated the brigade; even the training of the B-26 pilots could have been done in the United States; and perhaps, only perhaps, it could have been done without having been disclosed."

In a recent lecture to students at the Naval War College in Newport, Mr. Kirkpatrick said:

"It might have been wiser to have trained everybody in the United States where they could have been isolated somewhere in the vast reaches of a Fort Bragg or a Fort Benning."

During the lecture, a text of which is published in the November-December issue of the Naval War College Review, Mr. Kirkpatrick said, "By the time the landing took place, it was well known an operation was being mounted. It was well known who was

involved. It was well known that it was totally and completely supported by the United States."

The five battalions, or "reinforced companies," of invaders landed at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1961 — two days after an air strike damaged part of Castro's air force.

Mr. Kirkpatrick said that soon after the exiles landed five Castro jets appeared at the landing site and two of the principal landing ships, one carrying most of the brigade's ammunition, were sunk and the others driven away.

"And from that moment on, the operation was doomed," Mr. Kirkpatrick said. Three days after the landing, the 1,553-man brigade ran out of ammunition and was overwhelmed by the 20,000 Castro troops.

Mr. Kirkpatrick, who is described as being "one of the senior men in the CIA" at the time of the invasion, was using the Bay of Pigs invasion as a "case study" on covert operations.

The political science professor strongly defended the country's right to maintain its ability to mount covert operations "that can easily be disavowed by the originating government."

A covert operation, he said, "must be so clandestine, so well hidden, that its true sources may never be specifically proven. Guesses, allegations, speculations may be made in the public media, but no proof or verification is permissible if the operation is to be properly considered covert."

Mr. Kirkpatrick, author of "The Real CIA," said the Bay of Pigs operation was doomed "before it was ever mounted."

"As early as 30 October 1960 an article appeared in the Guatemalan La Hora which described a military

base in the mountains designed to train men for an invasion of Cuba," Mr. Kirkpatrick said.

Soon after the La Hora story, Mr. Kirkpatrick said, The New York Times was "producing a story on the base — who was there, what they were doing and what they were going to do."

After listing the many mistakes made in planning the invasion, including poor intelligence reports on Castro's strength, Mr. Kirkpatrick said the operation was mounted because "obviously most people thought it was going to succeed. In fact, most of the people talking to the President (John F. Kennedy) thought it was going to succeed."

Mr. Kirkpatrick, who came to Brown in September, 1965, said the operation was to achieve a "political objective," the disposal of the Castro regime.

"What we were really trying to do was do something inexpensively that we did not want to do the hard way (use U.S. forces)," Mr. Kirkpatrick said.

He stressed that the invasion was "exclusively" under the direction of the CIA and that post-operation criticism of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was "misplaced." The Joint Chiefs were asked only to evaluate the feasibility of the plan and the training of the exiles, most of whom were recruited in the Miami area.

"Inaccurate intelligence was the basis for the Bay of Pigs disaster," he added.

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# Aide in Bay of Pigs Fiasco Outlines Views on Planning

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY  
Star-News Staff Writer

The man who was inspector general of the CIA during the Bay of Pigs fiasco now believes it would have been wiser to have trained the invasion force at a military base inside the United States to preserve the security of the anti-Castro operation.

Prof. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr., now on the faculty of Brown University, disclosed this view in a lecture delivered at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I. The speech has been published in the current college review.

Kirkpatrick also said: "If the President makes the policy to get rid of Castro, that is about the last he should hear of it. If something goes wrong he can fire and disavow, which is what a President should do, not acknowledge and accept blame. Of course, I am being critical of the President (Kennedy) but I think this is essential."

The former CIA official said the control of "covert" opera-

tions like the Bay of Pigs exercise in 1961 should be at a much lower level of government than the President's office. Having covert operations run out of the White House or even out of the office of the secretaries of state or defense "makes absolutely no sense whatever in any society."

"Never Understood"

Although he said he was speaking only his personal views, Kirkpatrick said the blame for failure of the Cuban exile invasion belongs to the CIA, not on the military where President Kennedy tried to place it.

"It can be concluded," said Kirkpatrick, "that the President never really fully understood that this proposal entailed a military operation in the true sense of the word. Instead of an assault landing consisting of some 1,500 men, Kennedy seemed to think this was going to be some sort of mass infiltration that would perhaps, through some mystique, become quickly invisible."

Kirkpatrick said it would have been more feasible to have used U.S. bases instead of those in Guatemala and Nicaragua for the invasion of Cuba because the United States could have isolated the brigade and trained the pilots without disclosure.

"The Bay of Pigs experience," he said, "does not mean that we should forget covert operations as a tool for implementing national policy. In fact, that's the last thing it means. The capability to mount a covert operation is an exceedingly important capability for our government to have."

Looking back over the Bay of Pigs operation, Kirkpatrick said the most vital lesson learned was from the operators' failure to secure accurate intelligence. He said inaccurate intelligence was the basis for the disaster adding, "there is no other place to put the blame for that than on the agency mounting the operating."

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# The Central Intelligence Agency:

## A Short History to Mid-1963 — Part 2

James Hepburn

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*"I never had any thought . . . when I set up the CIA, that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations. Some of the complications and embarrassment that I think we have experienced are in a part attributable to the fact that this quiet intelligence arm of the President has been so removed from its intended role . . ."*

— Harry Truman, President of the U.S.  
quoted at the start of the chapter

### Introductory Note by the Editor

The book "Farewell America", by James Hepburn, was published in 1968 in English by Frontiers Co. in Vaduz, Liechtenstein; 418 pages long, including 14 pages of index. James Hepburn is a pseudonym; the book is reputed to have been written by the French Intelligence, in order to report to Americans what actually happened in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Copies of the book may be purchased readily in Canada, and at one or two addresses in the United States. No bookstore in the United States that I know of will order and sell copies of the book. (Inquire of the National Committee to Investigate Assassinations, 927 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005, for ways to purchase the book.) The twenty chapters are absorbingly interesting, and well worth reading.

Information about secret intelligence services and the way they operate is of course not in the open literature. In the two and a half years since I read the book, I have seen no demonstration that any of the information contained in the book is false — and the information does tie in with much else that is known. Perhaps more than 90% of what is in the book is true.

The following article is based on Chapter 15, "Spies", of "Farewell America". Part 1 was published in the November, 1972, issue of "Computers and Automation". Part 2 is published here.

### Worldwide Extension of the CIA

Beginning in 1955, the CIA extended its intelligence networks on the continent of Africa, which up till then, with the exception of Egypt and Libya, had been considered of secondary importance. It established itself solidly in Algeria, the Republic of South Africa, the ex-Belgian Congo, French West Africa and the Portuguese African colonies. Latin America and the Caribbean were controlled by its American Division.

### Preparations for the Invasion of Cuba

When Kennedy entered the White House, preparations were already underway for an invasion of Cuba. The

project had originated with an executive order signed by President Eisenhower on March 17, 1960 authorizing the clandestine training and arming of Cuban refugees. The operation was directed by Richard Mervin Bissell, Jr., a brilliant graduate of the London School of Economics and former professor of economics at Yale who had joined the CIA in 1954 and, as director of its Plans Division, had supervised the U2 project. Bissell's original plan included the organization of guerilla troops in Cuba itself, but the shortage of qualified volunteers and the lack of support among the Cuban population and Castro's army rendered this impossible. Instead, Allen Dulles decided on a military invasion of the island by Cuban exile forces.

### Training Sites

The CIA immediately began looking for a suitable training site. At the beginning of April, 1960, Robert Kendall Davis, First Secretary of the American Embassy in Guatemala and the local CIA Station Chief, visited Guatemala President Ydigoras at his official residence, situated out of precaution on the grounds of the Guatemalan military school.<sup>23</sup> Ydigoras, who had no sympathy for Castro and who was also faced with a mounting budget, agreed to allow the CIA to train "special forces" on a base in Guatemala. The CIA chose the "Helvetia" coffee plantation at Retalhuleu, which covered 5,000 acres, was easy to guard, and offered 50 miles of private roads. There it established a training center for saboteurs and combat forces equipped with barracks and a swimming pool.

At the end of May, 1960, the CIA met with representatives of the five Cuban exile groups, which joined in a common front, the Cuban Revolutionary Council, for which the CIA opened bank accounts in New York, New Orleans, and Miami. The majority of the Cuban exiles lived in Florida or Louisiana. Word spread quickly that something big was in the wind and that there was no lack of funds. Volunteers poured in, and a first contingent of men described as "geometrical engineers" departed for Guatemala at the end of May, 1960.

### Training Anti-Castro Cubans

The CIA provided military specialists and foreign technicians, mainly German and Japanese contractals.

## THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY: TIME FOR REVIEW?

The intelligence community, and its budget, pose many problems of traditional concern to the Federation of American Scientists: governmental reform, morality, proper use of high technology, and defense expenditures. In the last quarter century, intelligence agencies have proliferated. The United States has established an agency which goes beyond intelligence collection and, periodically, interferes in the internal affairs of other nations. Technology suited to the invasion of national and personal privacy has been developed apace. And the \$4 to \$6 billion being spent for intelligence might well be termed the largest "unreviewed" part of the defense budget.

Twenty-five years after the passage of the National Security Act of 1947, it seems a good time to consider the problems posed by these developments.

Of least concern in terms of its budget but of over-riding significance in its international political impact, is the Directorate of Plans of CIA, within which clandestine political operations are mounted. This is the issue discussed in this newsletter. More and more, informed observers question whether clandestine political operations ought to be continued on a "business as usual" basis. In the absence of an investigation, a "secret bureaucracy"—which started in the Office of Strategic Services during a hot war and which grew in the CIA during a cold war—may simply continue to practice a questionable trade.

Clandestine "dirty tricks" have their costs not only abroad but at home, where they are encouraged only too easily. And is not interference in the affairs of other nations wrong?

Two decades ago, as the cold war gained momentum, one of America's greatest political scientists, Harold D. Lasswell, wrote a comprehensive and prophetic book, "National Security and Individual Freedom." He warned of the "insidious menace" that a continuing crisis might "undermine and eventually destroy free institutions." We would see, he predicted: pressure for defense expenditures, expansion and centralization of Government, withholding of information, general suspicion, an undermining of press and public opinion, a weakening of political parties, a decline of the Congress, and of the courts.

Today, with the Cold War waning, it seems in order to reexamine our institutions, goals and standards. Which responses to the emergency of yesterday can we justify today? □

The National Security Act of 1947 created the Central Intelligence Agency and gave it overall responsibility for coordinating the intelligence activities of the several relevant government departments and agencies interested in such matters. Today, a quarter century later, CIA is reported to have a budget of about \$700-million to \$1-billion and a staff of perhaps 18,000 people, or about 8,000 more than the Department of State! (This advantage in size gives CIA an edge in interdepartmental meetings for which, for example, others may be too rushed to fully prepare or not be able to assign a suitable person.)

The National Security Act authorized CIA to:

agencies such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more effectively accomplished centrally;

"perform such other functions and duties *related to intelligence* affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct." (italics added)

These clauses clearly authorize clandestine intelligence collection but they are also used to justify clandestine political operations. However, overthrowing governments, secret wars, assassination, and fixing elections are certainly not done "for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies" nor are they duties "related to intelligence." Someday a court may rule that political activities are not authorized.

In any case, at the urging of Allen Dulles, the National Security Council issued a secret directive (NSC 10/2) in 1948, authorizing such special operations of all kinds—provided they were secret and small enough to be plausibly deniable by the Government.

Even this authority has been exceeded since several impossible-to-deny operations have been undertaken: the U-2 flight, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Iranian Coup, the Laotian War, and so on.

The National Security Act gave the CIA no "police subpoena, law enforcement powers, or internal security functions . . ." But another secret Executive Branch document evidently did give the CIA authority to engage in domestic operations related to its job. It was under this authority that such organizations as foundations, educational organizations, and private voluntary groups were involved with the CIA at the time of the National Student Association revelations (1966).

The "white" part of CIA is, in a sense, a cover for the "black" side. CIA supporters and officials invariably emphasize the intelligence, rather than the manipulation function of CIA, ignoring the latter or using phrases that gloss over it quietly. The public can easily accept the desirability of *knowing* as much as possible. But its instincts oppose doing abroad what it would not tolerate at home. And it rightly fears that injustices committed abroad may begin to be tolerated at home: how many elections can be fixed abroad before we begin to try it here? The last election showed such a degeneration of traditional American standards.

The present Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Helms, is working hard and effectively at presenting an image of CIA that will not offend. In a recent speech, he said:

"The same objectivity which makes us useful to our government and our country leaves us uncomfortably aware of our ambiguous place in it. . . . We propose to adapt intelligence to American society, not vice versa."

Even construed narrowly, this is no easy job, and adapting clandestine political operations to American ideals may well be quite impossible.

At the time of the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy gave serious consideration to breaking CIA into two pieces: one piece would conduct operations and the other would

The capabilities for conducting effective intelligence gathering and paramilitary operations have long been essential tools in the conduct of national policy. Unfortunately, however, certain misconceptions regarding the manner and circumstances in which they can be employed arose in this country after World War II and led directly to setbacks like the Bay of Pigs. Rather than shunning the possibility of using covert operations in the future to gain policy objectives, experiences like the Bay of Pigs merely underline the fact that policymakers must be educated as to what is possible, and the responsibility for this lies with the career intelligence community.

## PARAMILITARY CASE STUDY

### THE BAY OF PIGS

A lecture delivered

by

Professor Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr.

I think that the usual caveat is necessary before I get into the subject at hand. What I am about to say today are my personal views; they do not represent the official CIA view nor the official U.S. Government view. This is an after-action report on an episode in our history which engendered perhaps the most intense emotions and public reaction we have seen since World War II.

President Kennedy in the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs made the comment that "Victory has a hundred fathers; defeat is an orphan." I would simply say that as Inspector General of the CIA at the time, I was probably in charge of the orphanage.

There is a very specific definition of covert operations. In the broad literature of intelligence, covert operations are about as old as espionage, which has been called the world's second oldest profession. To be properly considered covert, an operation must be designed in such a way that it can easily be disavowed by the originating government. The hand of the sponsor must not be visible.

Covert operations, on the other hand, must not be confused with irregular warfare. An example of irregular warfare that has received recent worldwide attention is the operation in Laos. Everybody on both sides knows who is doing what to whom; the aid and assistance is obvious. That is irregular warfare. A covert operation, however, to be totally covert must be so clandestine, so well hidden, that its true sources may never be specifically proven. Guesses, allegations, speculations may be made in

the public media, but no proof or verification is permissible if the operation is to be properly considered covert.

At this point in our discussion I believe it will prove helpful to simply list some of the questions that must be asked before a covert operation is properly undertaken.

- Can it be done covertly? Can the role of the sponsoring government be sufficiently concealed at each step so as to avoid disclosure and thus either failure or a diplomatic setback for the sponsor? And if the cover of the operation is destroyed at any stage, are alternative measures or withdrawal possible?

- Are the assets available to do the job required? Are the indigenous personnel available who are secure and in the proper place to do the work required? If not, are there those available who can be put into place?

- Are all of the assets of the sponsoring government being used? Can the operation be controlled? Will the indigenous forces being used respond to direction or are they likely to go off on their own? Will they accept cancellation of the operation at any time?

- If it succeeds or fails, will they maintain silence? The maxim "Silence is golden" has never been fully accepted in this country, but it is still worth asking. Also, can it be handled securely within the sponsoring government?

- Finally, and this is perhaps the most important question the United States must ask, is the risk worth the potential gain? Has there been a true evaluation of the chance of success or failure by an objective group not di-

rectly or emotionally involved with its implementation? Do the policymakers have a realistic understanding of the operation?

These are some of the basic questions which must be asked prior to the mounting of any clandestine or covert operation.

Before turning to the case study itself, a brief review of recent Cuban history is appropriate. Fidel Castro landed in eastern Cuba in 1956 with what turned out to be 12 men. He gathered forces in the Sierra Maestra in 1956 and 1957. Even more important, however, was the growth of anti-Batista groups in the cities of Cuba among the middle class, the professionals, and the elite. It was the erosion of Batista's vital political support in the cities which led directly to his downfall. The guerrillas in the countryside served merely as a catalyst in this process. And eventually, on 1 January 1959, Castro stepped into the vacuum left by the fleeing Batista.

A fact which many people do not seem to recall was that despite our misgivings about Fidel Castro, and the U.S. Government did have them, we recognized his government fairly promptly. The first cabinet of the Castro regime was probably one of the finest in Cuban history. It is worthy to note, however, that very few of the new Cabinet members stayed very long.

In addition to recognizing Castro, the United States continued its subsidy of Cuba's sugar crop which at that time amounted to approximately \$100 million. The three major U.S. oil companies doing business in Cuba advanced him \$29 million because his treasury was bare when he took over. Batista and his cohorts had seen to that. Castro was not invited to the United States on an official trip, but he came here unofficially to attend a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, and he did have an interview with the then Vice President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon. Then, one by one, the men around Castro began dropping off. He speedily appropriated U.S. property worth \$968 million. Even his closest barbados—the bearded ones—that had been with him in the hills started to turn against him as he appointed more and more Communists, and by the middle of 1960 it became obvious that the United States was not going to be able to do business with Fidel. This, I might say, was a very great shock to Americans. Cuba was a country that we regarded as our protégé. We had helped liberate it from Spain; we had assisted it through the

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# Nixon Order Fails to Ease Access to Classified Data

## Bureaucratic Obstacles and High Costs Are Impeding Efforts to Obtain Older Government Documents

By FELIX BELAIR JR.  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21—President Nixon's pledge "to lift the veil of secrecy" from needlessly classified official papers is being throttled by bureaucratic confusion, timidity and prohibitive costs, in the opinion of historians, other scholars and newsmen.

Five months after the President's order on June 1, directing a freer flow of information to the public from secret and confidential papers more than 10 years old, the output is still no more than a trickle. More requests for documents have been denied or labeled "pending" than have been granted.

Those seeking access to the documents are searching for information that might throw new light on the origins of the United States involvement in the Korean and Vietnam wars, the Cuban Bay of Pigs invasion and other matters relating to the nation's military and foreign policies.

In an interview on results of the Presidential edict, Prof. Lloyd C. Gardner, chairman of the history department at Rutgers University, said that "for misdirection, subterfuge and circumlocution there has been nothing like this bureaucratic performance since the old-fashioned shell game."

Professor Gardner, who has been trying for nearly 10 years to obtain State Department papers on the origins of the Korean war, has also been a leading critic before Congressional committees of efforts to devise a secrecy classification system by Executive order.

### Future Effect Seen

Those in charge of carrying out the President's order say it will have a greater effect in years to come as more papers are brought under review and new restrictions inhibit the use of secrecy labels.

To Professor Gardner, however, "the brightest prospect is that Congress will put an end to secret classification by administrative orders and spell out in legislation what material can be put under security

wraps and by whom." A House watchdog committee has charged that the President's June 1 order was issued to head off such a bill, on which it was then holding hearings.

Figures compiled by the White House staff suggest that results under the new order—the first "reform" since 1953—have not been too bad. Of 177 requests made to various agencies in the five months through October, 83 were granted in full and four in part; 52 were denied in full and 38 are still pending, the White House figures show.

The breakdown, however, does not take into account that some of the information granted was not responsive to a request. One of the features of the system is that the person requesting declassification must agree in advance to buy the material. He must agree in advance to pay the cost of locating, identifying and reviewing the material even though it may not answer his question.

### Balked by Officials

Officials' attitudes, as much as the rules permitting continued classification, hinder access to old papers on defense and foreign policy, it has been charged. Some of these officials relate prestige and the importance of their jobs to the volume of secret information coming across their desks, according to testimony before the House Subcommittee on Freedom of Information.

Rear Adm. Gene R. La Rocque, who retired from the Navy after 31 years and who received the Legion of Merit for his work on strategic planning for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the House panel that Pentagon classification was ordered for a variety of reasons other than the legitimate one of preventing information from falling into the hands of a potential enemy.

He listed among the other reasons: "To keep it from the other military services; from civilians in their own service; from civilians in the Defense Department and, of course, out in legislation what material can be put under security that many officers regarded

Congressmen as "bad security risks" because of a tendency to "tell all to the public."

Other former high Government officials acknowledged the existence among some bureaucrats of the extreme view that "public business is no business of the public."

On the other hand, one of the most eloquent statements of the public's "right to know" was given by President Nixon in promulgating the June 1 order.

"Fundamental to our way of life," he said, "is the belief that when information which properly belongs to the public is systematically withheld by those in power, the people soon become ignorant of their own affairs, distrustful of those who manage them, and—eventually—incapable of determining their own destinies."

Despite this endorsement of a better-informed public, the language of the President's order makes access to classified information more difficult rather than the reverse.

The order provides that, after 10 years, secret material on national security and foreign policy must be reviewed for declassification on request, provided that the information is described "with sufficient particularity that it can be obtained with only a reasonable amount of effort."

### Drawback Cited

The drawback in this requirement, those who have made the effort say, is that only the officials know what is in the classified files and how it is identified. Outsiders can guess at what is there and provide approximate dates. But to start the process the outsider must agree in writing to assume any costs entailed in identification and location of the material and security review.

The average citizen and most news media consider this cost prohibitive.

The Washington bureau of The New York Times, within a week of the effective date of the President's order, submitted 31 foreign policy questions to the State Department and requested declassification of the material presumably containing the answers. All together, 55 requests went to five Federal agencies.

Three weeks later the State Department responded that "we have concluded that your request does not describe the records you seek with sufficient particularity to enable the department to identify them, and that as described, they cannot be obtained with a reasonable amount of effort."

Seven have yet to be answered with a yes or no.

### Reference in Memoirs

Among the June 1 requests by The Associated Press was one to the Defense Department for certain material on the Korean war. The Pentagon replied on July 11 that the material was not in the files of the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs. Another reply on Aug. 8 said that the material could not be located "with a reasonable amount of effort."

When it was pointed out that the material had been referred to in the memoirs of former President Eisenhower as coming from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pentagon searchers said they would go on looking.

Before its rejection of the request by The Times, the State Department advised that the cost of identifying, locating and reviewing the material could be "as much as \$7,000 or more."

but that this was not to be taken as an estimate of any validity and none could be attempted.

In any case, The Times was told it would have to state in writing in advance that it would assume whatever cost was assigned to producing the material, even though the review process determined that it could not be declassified and released.

Pending the outcome of a written protest to David Young, head of declassification operations at the White House, The Times on June 21 withdrew its requests to the State Department and four other Federal agencies.

In a letter to Mr. Young, Max Frankel, the Washington correspondent of The Times said that "we will not buy a pig in a poke, nor should the Government ask us to play research roulette, even if we acknowledged some responsibility for sharing the costs involved."

Mr. Frankel's chief complaint was that "the bureaucrats misunderstand virtually every issue involved in this whole proceeding." He said, "We have, first, the admission (and in the case of the Pentagon papers, the demonstration) that vast amounts of information have been either misclassified or wrongly held classified for too long."

Mr. Frankel, who is also chief of the Washington bureau of The Times, said that the obvious intent of the President's order had been to correct both categories of error and said:

"If the Government intends to honor the intent and the spirit of the President's order, then it should facilitate access, not raise one barrier after another. In short, if the Government means what it says and

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# With your guns and drums and drums and guns Hurroo, Hurroo With your guns and drums and drums and guns Hurroo, Hurroo...

From Irish folk song, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye."

By Kenneth P. O'Donnell

A few minutes before President Kennedy was shot in Dallas nine years ago today, two of his traveling companions, Dave Powers and myself, in the motorcade close behind his limousine, were saying how happy he seemed that morning. As longtime aides to the President, Dave and I had seen him through many memorable days but we never saw him in a better mood than on that trip to Texas.

The big worry of his first two years in the White House—the threat of nuclear war with Russia—was safely behind him. He had decided to pull out of Vietnam. A few days before we went to Texas, Dave and I were talking with him about Vietnam. We asked how he could make a military withdrawal without losing American prestige in Southeast Asia. His reply, in view of today's withdrawal pains in Saigon, was interesting.

"Easy," he said. "Put a government in there that will ask us to withdraw."

Thinking of his unserved second term, I often remember a hand-lettered sign of farewell, held up by somebody in the crowd at Shannon Airport when President Kennedy was ending his memorable visit to Ireland in 1963. The sign said, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye," a line from the old Irish folk song. We borrowed the title when

we wrote our memories about him.

Those memories are filled with his wry humor. We recall him being questioned by a loyal worker dismayed by his choice of Lyndon Johnson as his Vice-Presidential running-mate.

"What will I say to all my friends in Boston," the lady asked, "when they ask me why you picked Johnson?"

Kennedy smiled, and said, "Pretend you know something they don't know."

During the summit meeting in Vienna, we sat at a window in the American Embassy residence, watching Khrushchev argue with Kennedy in the garden below. Khrushchev was snapping at him like a terrier, while the President remained unperturbed.

Powers said to the President later, "You seem to be giving me a hard time out there."

"What did you expect me to do?" Kennedy said. "Take off one of my shoes and hit him over the head with it?"

Kennedy, and all of the Boston Irishmen on his White House staff, were surprised when Henry Cabot Lodge, our old Yankee Brahmin political adversary from Massachusetts, was suggested by Dean Rusk for the Ambassador's post in Saigon. The President told us that he decided to approve the appointment partly because the idea of getting Lodge mixed up in such a hopeless mess as the big one in Vietnam was irresistible.

Lodge was a bit too stiffly patrician for Kennedy's taste and Richard Nixon was not classy enough. When we watched Lodge with Nixon on television, accepting the Vice-Presidential nomination at the 1960 Republican Convention, Kennedy said to us, "That's the last Nixon will see of Lodge. If Nixon ever tries to visit the Lodges at their house in Beverly, they won't let him in the door."

During the same convention, Kennedy watched Nixon accepting acclaim from the delegates, turned away from the TV screen with a grimace, and said, "If I have to stand up before a crowd and wave both of my arms above my head like that in order to become President of the United States, I'll never make it."

President Kennedy made his most courageous decision when he received the news of the failure of the C.I.A.-sponsored invasion of Cuba by a force of Cuban rebels at the Bay of Pigs. He had approved the plan with one stipulation — under no circumstances could any U.S. military forces join in combat.

Both the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the C.I.A. then urged him to send in U.S. Marines and Navy jets from the nearby carrier Essex to help the outnumbered invaders. He said that he preferred the embarrassment of defeat

to ordering a military attack by the United States against a small and independent government.

"I'll take all the blame for it," he told the generals.

Publicly the President took the full responsibility for the Bay of Pigs disaster. But later he learned that the C.I.A. had assured the Cuban rebel leaders that they would be getting strong U.S. military support. That led him to a bitter conclusion.

Dave Powers remembers the President saying at the time, while they were swimming one day in the White House pool, "They couldn't believe I wouldn't panic and try to save my own face. Well, they had me figured wrong."

The Bay of Pigs experience made President Kennedy leery of military advice for the rest of his time in office. "If it wasn't for the Bay of Pigs," he said to us later, "I might have sent Marines into Laos in 1961, as a lot of people around here wanted me to do."

Nov. 22, 1963 began as a wonderful day for all of us but by 12:30 all our lives were darkened.

Kenneth P. O'Donnell, a member of President Kennedy's staff, is co-author with David P. Powers and Joe McCarthy of "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye."

DAVID BRAATEN

## The Massachusetts Question

The question, of course, is how long the United States can tolerate the existence of Massachusetts, with its alien philosophy, less than 90 miles from New York City, and reportedly even closer to Rhode Island and Connecticut.

While President Nixon has had no difficulty renewing his summit contacts with Moscow and Peking, relations with the Bay State have deteriorated steadily since the election.

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The first of many skyjackings, it will be recalled, came early on the morning of Nov. 8, when a group of wild-eyed, long-haired youths wearing McGovern buttons seized the New York shuttle 15 minutes out of Washington and forced the pilot to fly to Logan Airport in East Boston. There, according to foreign news dispatches, the McGovernites were given a hero's welcome and immediately granted asylum.

(Everyone agrees that the natives — despite a serious language barrier — treated the hijacked passengers with what passes for politeness in Massachusetts. "They just stared at us," reported an Alexandria, Va., housewife, "and scratched their heads and said, 'Ey-up' to all our questions." Still, there were a few nervous moments when airport militia discovered a "Nixon, Now More Than Ever" sticker on a Chevy Chase attorney's briefcase. After questioning, however, he was released in time to catch the flight out with the rest of the Americans.)

It is pretty well agreed that the low point in U.S.-

Massachusetts relations was reached with the disastrous invasion attempt by the Cabot-Lowell Brigade. After intensive preparation at training camps in Newport and Block Island, the Cabot-Lowells sailed into Boston Harbor (renamed, in their honor, the Bay of Prigs) and landed in South Boston.

It had been hoped that the blue-collar Irish ethnics would rise up and join in the proposed takeover, but the Irish, as usual, were confused. Under the impression that the invaders were Italians from the North End, they swarmed out of their saloons bellowing their ancient battle hymn ("Southie's My Home Townwwn!") and, armed with little more than broken Narragansett beer bottles, rushed to the defense of their property values and quickly routed the Cabot-Lowells.

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In the series of investigations that followed, it developed that intelligence operations, supposedly the responsibility of the CIA, had somehow been delegated to the Harvard Alumni Association. In addition, communications within the invading task force had been hopelessly inadequate, for while the Cabots spoke to the Lowells, the Lowells, of course, spoke only to God. As a result, many vital messages were either badly garbled or completely ignored.

The Cabot-Lowells, after a brief incarceration on grim, pungent Speetale Island, were eventually ransomed for 7,500 dunc buggies, but much

ill-will remains as a result of the episode.

The future is uncertain. Demands in Congress for a total blockade of Massachusetts have been headed off so far, largely on the grounds that the move would interfere with ski trains that are still, under an old treaty, permitted to transit the state en route to northern New England.

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Meanwhile, reports that Massachusetts is in the grip of severe famine, its natives subsisting on beans and a thin stew of salt pork, shellfish and boiled potatoes, are discounted by youths just returned from helping to harvest the cranberry crop. They report that the population lives on such dismal fare by choice, and seems to thrive on it.

There are some who believe Massachusetts can be brought back into the United States only by putting Sen. Edward Brooke on the Republican ticket in 1976, but even this drastic move might not work.

The great danger, according to administration sources, is that the Massachusetts political virus will prove to be exportable to other states, threatening President Nixon's goal of a generation of Republicans in the White House. Indeed, Sen. Edward (Che) Kennedy is believed to be plotting just such a subversive operation. U2 overflights are keeping his hideout in the eastern sand dunes under constant surveillance, and some program for neutralizing his influence is expected to be worked out within the next three or four years.



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# LIFE & LETTERS

## HEROIN AND THE CIA

by Flora Lewis

### THE POLITICS OF HEROIN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

by Alfred W. McCoy  
Harper & Row, \$10.95

One fact is beyond dispute: heroin is flooding into the United States in sufficient quantities to support an ever growing number of addicts. Estimates about the drug traffic are unreliable, but trends are painfully clear in mounting deaths, young zombies stumbling through city streets, crime to the point of civic terror. There are said to be some 560,000 addicts in America now, twice the number estimated two years ago and ten times the level of 1960.

Another fact goes unchallenged: suddenly, in 1970, high-grade pure white heroin, which Americans prefer to the less refined drug more normally consumed by Asians, appeared in plentiful and cheap supply wherever there were GI's in Vietnam. The epidemic was a vast eruption. It took the withdrawal of the troops to douse it, for the fearful flow could not be staunched.

Beyond those facts, the sordid story of drug trafficking has been a shadowy, elusive mixture of controversial elements. It was obvious that there must be corruption involved. It was obvious that there must be politics involved, if only because the traffic continues to flourish on such a scale despite the energetic pronouncements of powerful governments. It takes a map of the whole world to trace the drug net.

Since the United States suddenly

became aware of the sinister dimensions of the plague and President Nixon bravely declared war on drugs (unlike the persistently undeclared war in Indochina), it has been customary for U.S. officials to pinpoint the poppy fields of Turkey and the clandestine laboratories of Marseille as the source of most of the American curse. Nobody denied that the bulk of the world's illicit opium (some say 70 percent, some say 50 to 60 percent) is grown in Southeast Asia and particularly in the "golden triangle" of mountains where Burma, Thailand, and Laos meet. But the U.S. government insisted, and continues to insist in the 111-page report on the world opium trade published in August, that this supplies natives and seldom enters American veins.

Not so, says Alfred W. McCoy, who spent some two years studying the trade. And further, it is certain to become less and less so as measures which the United States demanded in Turkey and France take effect in blocking the old production and smuggling patterns. This is of crucial importance for two reasons. One is that firm establishment of an Asian pattern to America means that the crackdown in Turkey and France will be next to futile so far as availability of heroin in the United States is concerned. The second is that focusing attention on Southeast Asia would bring Americans to understand that the "war on drugs" is inextricably involved with the Indochina war, and has to be fought on the same battleground from which President Nixon

assured us he was disengaging "with honor."

McCoy, a twenty-seven-year-old Yale graduate student, worked with immense diligence and considerable courage—for the opium trade is dangerous business and the combination of opium, politics, and war can be murderous—to document the facts of the Asian pattern.

A good deal of it has been common gossip in tawdry bars of Saigon, Vientiane, and Bangkok for years. But the gossip mills of Indochina are a long way from the streets of Harlem and the high schools of Westchester County. The general knowledge that the rumors reflected is a long way from precise, confirmed detail. So the Asian pattern had never come through clearly in the United States.

Now, in his book *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, McCoy has set it down. To show how it developed, he had to backtrack. The use of opiates in the United States has a long history. It wasn't until after World War I that widespread opprobrium, added to growing understanding of the dangers, turned the trade into an underworld monopoly. But World War II disrupted the supply routes. Unable to get drugs, American addicts were forced to quit the hard way. The market diminished, and, with a modicum of enforcement effort and international cooperation, might have been wiped out.

A single U.S. official act, McCoy believes, turned that chance around and enabled the creation of a worldwide octopus of evil almost beyond

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## An Efficient CIA

Patrick McGarvey, a former Central Intelligence Agency agent, has written a book about his ex-employer.

Among the things his work reveals about the CIA are these:

- Intelligence bickering nearly provoked Chinese Communist entry into the Vietnam War in 1966.

- The ill-fated Pueblo mission and capture by North Korea was unnecessary since all the targets it was working against were already adequately covered by other intelligence sources.

Unlike some other critics of the CIA, McGarvey, a veteran of 14 years in intelligence work, he does not try to expose the CIA, but rather hopes to shed light on the myth that the CIA "is an efficient, well-run machine capable of almost any act of intrigue."

Instead, he said, the agency is an "insufferable bureaucratic

morass with little or no direction, sorely heeding drastic change."

One needs only to recall the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the intelligence goof-ups of the Vietnam war to conclude that he probably is right.

McGarvey does not advocate dismantling the CIA; it would be foolhardy to do so in a world governed by countries who spy on one another and plot one intrigue after another.

So, it is essential that we keep a Central Intelligence Agency. But if we are going to have one, we ought to try to make it an efficient one.

That probably will require an investigation, and that won't be easily done because of the secrecy that surrounds the organization. Congress often is unable to get any information on the operation of the CIA.

The President should appoint a select committee to look into the nation's entire intelligence network.

# "Good God!"

By Bob Woodward

moaned E. Howard Hunt. Then he muttered "no comment" and slammed down the phone.

It was a balmy spring day, June 19, 1972. And Hunt, the former CIA operative and White House consultant, had just been informed that his name and home telephone number were in the address books of two of the five men arrested two days earlier at the Democrats' Watergate headquarters.

For Hunt that phone call, that rare June day, that sudden exclamation must now be an especially bitter memory. It was, apparently, the first he knew of any public connection between him and the Watergate bugging; three months later he was indicted by a federal grand jury for playing a part in that alleged conspiracy. By then he had lost his jobs, been hounded by photographers and reporters, been the object of considerable unkind speculation and joking, been plastered across front pages.

He was, in short, suffering the woes common to Washington figures caught up in the furies of a political scandal. If for no other reason, the sheer inelegance, the slipshod quality of the break-in and its aftermath must have rankled Hunt because, on the surface at least, he has a lot of dazzle—as do the heroes of his 40-plus novels, many of which are tales of suspense and spying. Now, associated not with a coup but with a calamity he has emerged reluctantly into the harsh limelight; he came out of a session of early testimony behind shades and beneath a straw hat, looking more like a Florida motel manager than a superspy.

But he has remained in many respects—as he wished—a Mystery Man, a Gatsby of the cloak-and-walkie-talkie set.

After Hunt's name was linked with the suspects, he abruptly dropped from sight. At one point 150 FBI agents were reliably reported to be searching for him here and abroad.

In July he re-surfaced and appeared before the grand jury. Repeated attempts to reach him directly or through his lawyer (William O. Bittman, a former Justice Department attorney who successfully prosecuted former Teamster chief James Hoffa) have been unsuccessful.

As of this writing in mid-September, Howard Hunt has maintained his no-comment posture—unflinchingly.

Bob Woodward is a writer on the Metropolitan staff of The Washington Post

## Just a Few Facts

Everett Howard Hunt Jr. is 54 years old. He lives in a \$125,000 house in Potomac, Maryland. He is the father of four. He smokes a pipe. He is an only child. He plays jazz on the piano. He attended Brown University, graduating with a B.A. in 1940. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II and was decorated. The CIA acknowledges that he was in their employ from 1949 until 1970. Before the Watergate affair he was a \$100-a-day White House consultant and a writer for the public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen & Co. Today he is neither. An unloaded .25 caliber pistol was found by Federal investigators in his desk at the White House. Friends call him urbane and witty.

## The Past

*"Someone would mention a country abroad, almost any country, and then Howard would start his 'I-served-there' routine."*

—A Friend

According to Who's Who, Hunt served: Paris, attache American embassy, 1948-49; Vienna, 1949-50; Mexico City, 1950-53; The Far East, Uruguay, and the Defense Department as a consultant. "Howard always brought up the CIA, recalls the 'friend.'

"He was fascinated with his association with them and would bring it up in any conversation. He was never important at the CIA. He was never able to do all the things he thought up. I recall once he got down to the issue. Someone was talking about the slowness of government and Howard perked up. He said the CIA used to have guts but then it got bureaucratic and hierarchical. The CIA, he said, has lost its guts and that's too bad.

"Well," the friend continued, "I take that to mean they became responsible and wouldn't let him run wild." (A typically harsh comment from former Hunt friends with a stake in remaining politically alive.)

What was Hunt doing in all those places?

A State Department spokesman was asked if the embassy jobs and that title "consultant" had anything to do with a CIA cover.

"You'd never get me to say that out loud, but that's the net effect," the spokesman replied.

According to Hunt's associates, Hunt was a political conservative with right wing leanings.

The New York Times went so far as to quote sources who said that Hunt, using the code name "Eduardo," was in charge of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

This is just not so, according to government sources and friends.

Hunt was never really in charge of much, they say, and though several compared him to James Bond, they backed off the comparison when

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THE NATION  
25 Sept 1972

ZEALOTS FOR NIXON

# GAUDY NIGHT AT THE WATERGATE

ROBERT SHERRILL

Washington

"Now this is the kind of thing you expect under a person like Hitler."

—Sen. George McGovern

Operating within the Republican Party is a relatively uncontrolled group of right wingers, the ideological heirs of the Joseph McCarthy Death's Head units (*Totenkopfverbände*) of the mid-1950s and of Goldwater's ill-fated *Putsch* in 1964. They do influence policy at the highest levels, but they have recently become much more restless and much more frantic to widen their sphere of influence as they unhappily watch President Nixon venturing off to Peking and Moscow and taking actions that they hardly recognize as coming from the Diek they thought they knew, but now aren't so sure.

They operate along the fine edge of fanaticism, and as is always the case in such an environment they sometimes fall off, not only to their embarrassment but to the extreme embarrassment of the very person they most want to influence. Such an event occurred in unforgettable style in the early morning hours, beginning between 2 A.M.

and 2:30 A.M. on June 17, in what is known as "The Night of the Corporals" (*Nacht der Korporalen*).

At about that hour the Washington police cornered five men inside the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate office building. They might have claimed they had come by to see former Chairman Lawrence O'Brien during the day and, falling asleep, had been locked in by mistake; but it's not likely that that story would have gone over with the cops, since the five were wearing surgeons' rubber gloves, were weighted down with eavesdropping equipment and burglary tools, and were armed with Maec. They also carried fifty-three \$100 bills—which, the experts say, is the denomination favored by the CIA in financing its covert operations.

Diligent newsmen later discovered that the five intruders were in fact only part of a group—the others got away—who had been flown in from Miami, whisked in a 1972 Chrysler to luxurious quarters in the Watergate Hotel and fed an elegant lobster dinner before being put to their *Spionieren* inside Democratic headquarters. The common denominator of the group was Cuba. Each of the five reportedly had been involved in some way in the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961. Two of the intruders are worth special attention.

James W. McCord, 53, Texan, Baptist, Air Force reserve colonel, and for nineteen years an employee of the CIA before—the agency claims—he left it in 1970. McCord was security consultant to the Republican National Committee and to the Committee to Re-elect the President, the latter hiring him last January at a take-home salary of \$1,209 a month. He had an office in the committee's headquarters at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, kitty-corner from the White House.

Colonel McCord's Air Force reserve assignment (which they claim he quit four months ago) was to a special, secret fifteen-man squad which spent its time making up a list of "radicals" who presumably would be put in "camps" in the event of war; the unit also set up plans for censoring news and mail, and in other ways suppressing dissent during the next war.

Tad Szule of *The New York Times* reported that two of the Watergate intruders were known to have connections with an extremist right-wing group of Cuban expatriates known as the "Ex-Combatientes Cubanos de Fort Jackson," about 800 strong, some of whom are committed to "direct action to combat what they viewed as left-wing causes in the United States." Szule's sources also told him that these right-wing Cuban nuts had "some contact" with the military reserve unit to which McCord had at one time belonged.

The second of the Watergate Five worth special notice is Bernard L. Barker, 55, an American citizen born and raised in Cuba who served with Castro's forces before the revolution came to a head, but later fell out with the Cuban Prime Minister and moved to the United States; reputedly, he was the CIA's finance officer (*Schatzmeister*) in the Bay of Pigs organization, and since 1961 has been on the CIA's payroll. In an interview with Walter Rugaber of *The New York Times* (September 12) Barker portrayed himself as motivated by patriotism, not profit, and repeatedly stressed his fortitude under interrogation. Having resisted Nazi coercion (a bombardier in World War II, he was shot down over enemy territory), Barker expressed confidence in his ability to withstand American methods of questioning. Indeed, he so preened himself on his taciturnity under duress, agreeing proudly with Rugaber that he is no "squealer," that one is forced to the conclusion that he is choking back information that would rock the country and shatter the GOP.

Two of the Watergate Five were carrying little address books in which appeared the name E. Howard Hunt, Jr., and after it the notation "W. House" in one book and "W.H." in the other. Could that W., by any chance, stand for White? For twenty-one years, from 1949 to 1970, Hunt had been with the CIA—he was another of the key organizers of the Bay of Pigs thing, and then he then

## ASSASSINATION LEGACY

On April 15, 1972, WO predicted that "Teddy Kennedy would remain on the sidelines during the coming Presidential Election, regardless whether the Democratic Convention in Miami will want to draft him or not." WO continued: "Back in 1963 shortly after President Kennedy's assassination, Robert F. Kennedy, while he was still Attorney General, conducted his own investigation of the death of his brother. That private investigation, which ran parallel with the official inquiry into the magnicide conducted by the Warren Commission, was featured by trips to this country by an Inspector Hamilton, former Chief Inspector of Scotland Yard, Hamilton . . . had been retained by Bobby to help unravel the real truth about the murder of JFK. . . . Hamilton zeroed on the fact that the assassination of John Kennedy had occurred very shortly after his brother Bobby had made some preliminary moves of taking direct, personal control of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, whose leadership he blamed for the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Hamilton, following the '*cui prodest*' ('whom does it benefit?') reasoning, reached the conclusion that Bobby's move to seize control of the CIA had something to do with murder of his elder brother. . . . Teddy has become convinced of the correctness of Hamilton's conclusion, and, furthermore, considers it to have been further vindicated by Bobby's own death—which occurred within a matter of days after he threw his hat into the presidential ring and was on the way to putting himself in the position to take over the free-spending, powerful cloak-and-dagger agency."

When in the spring the Presidential campaigns of Muskie and Humphrey faltered, Teddy Kennedy weakened under pressure and permitted his cohorts to stealthily start his Presidential campaign, but was abruptly stopped by the attempted assassination of George Wallace. The Wallace assassination plot followed almost exactly the pattern of the Kennedy assassinations.

Teddy was scared. He told his courtiers to desist from all efforts to secure his presidential nomination, but to continue bluffing that he was potentially available in order that he could exercise more power at the National Convention.

Teddy wanted McGovern nominated because he was the weakest candidate, most likely to be defeated and thus leave the door wide open for Teddy in 1976. Teddy knew that both Soviet Russia and Israel are anxious to have Nixon re-elected and that any candidate who would seriously jeopardize Nixon's re-election is in mortal danger.

The Soviet KGB and the CIA both conduct schools for assassins and frequently complement each other, as in the instance of Che Guevara where the KGB set up the Argentine-born revolutionist for the CIA to ambush him.

WO on June 15, 1968, reporting on the Guevara assassination, stated: "the killing was done by agents of our own Central Intelligence Agency, sometimes called 'Murder Unlimited' . . . Guevara was 'fingered' for the CIA by the Soviet police (KGB)."

The equally murderous Israeli secret political police are also specialists in political homicide and frequently work in cooperation with CIA and KGB.

The public opinion polls have constantly indicated that Kennedy could defeat Nixon.

In the interim between now and 1976 Teddy intends to ingratiate himself with both Moscow and Tel Aviv, and be the anointed Communist-Zionist successor of Nixon in the White House.



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**WATERGATE CONNECTION**

President Nixon's business partner and personal friend, Cuban "Bebe" Rebozo is implicated in the Watergate caper, according to Cuban exile sources. Reportedly the Democratic organization had a damaging investigation file on the Nixon-Rebozo business partnership; also, the Democrats have acquired new evidence on the ITT scandal and inside information on the Nixon-Mitchell law firm—ammunition that Democratic strategists intended to drop as bombshell in the campaign. This was the urgency that prompted James W. McCord, Jr., chief security coordinator of both the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-elect the President, to personally participate in the Watergate burglary—he did not trust his Cuban cohorts to steal such highly incriminating documents—they might be tempted to peddle their wares to the highest bidder.

Friends of McCord say that there was a double-cross at the White House level. Two Democrat stool pigeons were planted on the staff of the Committee to Re-elect the President, but enemies of "Chuck" Colson in the White House were the real culprits who put the finger on the Watergate operation according to persons now under intense investigation in connection with the caper.

Frank Fiorini, alias Frank Sturgis, who was one of the five arrested at the Watergate, was for 20 years a confidential informant of columnist Jack Anderson. He kept Anderson advised on the activities of the several rival Cuban exile groups. Thus far Anderson has been strangely quiet about the Watergate incident.

As of now it appears that the Nixon Administration is going to make E. Howard Hunt, Jr., and G. Gordon Liddy scapegoats in the case. Liddy, a former FBI agent, who was working as financial counsel for the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, was fired by former Attorney Gen-

eral John M. Mitchell immediately after the break-in.

Despite his involvement in the much publicized burglary, bugging and wiretapping of the Democratic National Committee headquarters, White House Special Counsel to the President, Charles W. ("Chuck") Colson, is still held in high esteem by President Nixon; he accompanies Nixon on his frequent trips as an adviser, along with Henry A. Kissinger.

The Justice Department, which is supposedly prosecuting five men in connection with the alleged electronic bugging incident at the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate Building assigned a lawyer from its Civil Division to defend "Chuck" Colson in a civil suit stemming out of the case. Government attorney Irwin Goldbloom was assigned by Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst to represent Colson and Alfred Wong, a special agent of the U.S. Secret Service, who had recommended James W. McCord, former CIA official, to the position of security chief of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. (McCord was one of the five men arrested in the Watergate break-in). Ironically, a Federal judge appointed by Nixon, Charles R. Riehey, ruled that the Justice Department attorney, Goldbloom, could not represent Colson since the latter was obviously implicated in the Watergate caper.

While he was forced by law to make this adverse ruling against the Nixon Administration, Judge Riehey did so with misgivings, and is doing the best he can to protect Richard Nixon. He has taken the unusual step of sealing the transcriptions of the depositions in the civil action instituted by Larry O'Brien, former Democratic National Committee Chairman, until after the election in November. He is also stalling the current grand jury proceedings relative to the Watergate incident.

A former high CIA official, Tom Braden, who now writes a syndicated newspaper column, says: "Mr. Colson is Mr. Nixon's man of the sword; that is to say he has replaced Murray Chotiner as Mr. Nixon's principal exponent of dirty tricks. It is worth noting that at the very moment when Colson was being mentioned in the press in connection with the wiretapping incident at the Democratic National Committee, he was also being mentioned in the press as one of those who traveled back to Washington with the President on the trip home from San Clemente.

"Whether the President chose to have Colson with him because he likes his company or whether he decided that it might cast more suspicion upon Colson if Colson were suddenly dropped from the presidential entourage is a question which only Mr. Nixon could answer. But it is a fair bet that Colson is slated for the boondocks sooner

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## FOREIGN POLICY AND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

by Stephen Hess

"You can say all you want about foreign affairs, but what is really important is the price of hogs in Chicago and St. Louis," said the Governor of Illinois, William G. Stratton.

The setting for the Governor's remark was a post-midnight meeting in the suite of Richard Nixon at the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel. Only hours before, the delegates to the 1960 Republican National Convention in Chicago had unanimously chosen Nixon as their Presidential nominee and the candidate had now summoned 36 party elders to advise him on choosing a running mate.

Ultimately Nixon rejected Stratton's advice and picked Henry Cabot Lodge, whose face was known to millions of American television viewers as their country's chief spokesman at the United Nations for nearly eight years. In explaining his decision, Nixon commented, "If you ever let them [the Democrats] campaign only on domestic issues, they'll beat us—our only hope is to keep it on foreign policy."<sup>1</sup>

Nixon has not been the only candidate to be confronted with the conventional wisdom about what is the relative effectiveness of foreign and domestic issues in Presidential campaigns. Barry Goldwater in 1964 dispatched an aide to Chicago to discuss a forthcoming speech with Charles Barr, "a significant force in Illinois politics." Barr, according to speechwriter Karl Hess, was concerned "that Goldwater was not talking about the pocketbook issues which, in the minds of most political pros, are the only ones that really swing votes." Nevertheless, Hess pre-

dicted that the speech "would contain some comments on foreign policy." Barr's reply, "angry and loud," was "You Goddamn Boy Scouts are going to ruin everything."<sup>2</sup>

Ironically for Richard Nixon, 1960 was the only election since 1952 in which foreign policy did not play the dominant role. For the evidence strongly suggests that—contrary to the belief of many observers—foreign policy has been dominant in four of the last five Presidential campaigns, and will be a major issue in 1972.

This election, of course, pits a man who rose to national prominence through his steadfast opposition to the Vietnam war against a man whose overriding interests and achievements have been in foreign policy, and who will undoubtedly campaign on the "generation of peace" theme; Nixon stressing his record and highlighting his Moscow and Peking trips while trying to defuse Vietnam, and McGovern stressing his opponent's unfulfilled pledge to bring the war to an honorable conclusion. Reinforcing McGovern is the fact that, unlike 1968, opposition to the war is now a unifying issue among Democrats and thus becomes a rallying point for a party seeking to heal the self-inflicted wounds of the pre-convention period. Reinforcing Nixon's position is the control the President can exercise over events in the international arena, including the possibility that he might manage to undercut the Democrats totally on the Vietnam issue.

While foreign policy has been the dominant issue in four of the last five elections and is likely to dominate again this year, there are several important additional observations that must be made:

1. We have not witnessed serious, responsible debate on foreign policy during the Presidential campaigns;
2. The American voter is not particularly knowledgeable about foreign policy issues;
3. The electorate's interest in foreign policy

<sup>1</sup>Carleton Kent and Joseph Albright, *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 29, 1960.

<sup>2</sup>Karl Hess, *In A Cause That Will Triumph* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 21-23.

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continued

25 SEP 1972

Special Report

Anti-American

Propaganda

Barrages Cubans

Editor's Note: The Cuban people are fed a particular image of the United States by some gifted political propagandists. After a month on Castro's island, correspondent Wallach provides an inside look at the anti-American barrage in this, the seventh of 12 exclusive articles.

By JOHN P. WALLACH  
News American Washington Bureau

A machine gunner pops out of the multi-tiered wedding cake at Luci Baines Johnson's nuptials and mows down the White House guests. Nazi firing squads punctuate every clause of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech with a volley of rifle shots.

A bad dream? Someone's perverse hallucinations? No. They are scenes from "LBJ," a recent "documentary" — directed by one of the world's best cameramen and most powerful political propagandists, Santiago Alvarez. His newsreels are screened in schools, on television and often preceding the main feature in almost every commercial theater in Havana.

"LBJ" alleges that the murders of President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert, as well as the assassination of Martin Luther King were part of a conspiracy somehow involving President Johnson. In a clever pastiche of actual footage, the former chief executive is depicted playing with a rifle at his Texas ranch after newsreels shots of each assassination and funeral procession.

"Hate is a good thing," Alvarez contended in an interview, "because by channeling your emotions you avoid other crimes. I have too much hate in myself, but when you see children burned with napalm with your own eyes, how can anyone be immune to hate?"

When this correspondent sarcastically congratulated Alvarez on his success in conveying hatred, he equipped, "That's wonderful, I'm completely happy that my hate is useful for something." But he denied his films were propaganda warfare.

"When I make a film I make a film. When I shoot a gun, I shoot a gun. If the enemy approaches while I am filming in Vietnam and I am fighting with a gun, I'll abandon the film. That's how I feel."

His upcoming projects include an animated documentary depicting Mickey Mouse being machine-gunned as he disembarks in Vietnam and another ridiculing Tarzan by juxtaposing footage of native Africans dancing with what Alvarez considers racist treatment of Africans in Tarzan films.

He is "demystifying" the heroes (he has already "executed" Superman) who he contends are created to "reflect" the mysterious force inside capitalism that instills fear in people.

favorite targets. In one CIA documentary the film opens with a shot of a woman holding her hands over her breasts — whatever that signifies.

The film cites the CIA involvement in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and then charges the

CIA was also responsible for the murder last year of Chile's Army commander, Gen. Rene Schneider. Always, the CIA is depicted by a mysterious spider web, rats, or other evil-looking animals.

Cubans are barraged by similar propaganda in other mediums. A recent red-banner headline across the top of Cuba's only official newspaper, Granma, carried the message, "A new record for aerial escalation by the Nixon administration: 30 attacks."

As in every article mentioning him, the name of the President is given a vicious twist, dropping the "x" and replacing it with a Nazi swastika. News programs begin every evening with a special five-minute film allegedly depicting U. S. "warplanes" destroying Vietnam.

Another recent front-page article carried the news of the space astronauts postage stamp exploits, under the headline "The First Moon Swindle." The text began, "The United States has achieved another space goal with exclusive characteristics for the present and the future."

"American astronauts have successfully staged the first smuggle between the Earth and the Moon. Of course, it's not a 'mafia-type' crime. It's much simpler. In the space flights, NASA always sends envelopes with cancelled stamps. After the astronauts return, the U. S. government presents them as gifts to politicians and foreign dignitaries as a form of propaganda and bribe, a very subtle bribe."

The article left the strong impression that instead of coming clean before they were found out, the astronauts only admitted their guilt and returned the remaining envelopes after NASA officials had discovered the truth.

Even cartoons are not exempt. Cuba's answer to "Dennis the Menace" called "Matojo," is depicted in a recent humor magazine firing a toy machine gun outside his living room window. "Pum, pum, pum, pum."

"Don't make so much noise," his mother says.

Jumping up and down with arms outstretched, Matojo shouts, "I shot them down. I shot them down." "What did you shoot down?" his mother asks. "I'm a North Vietnamese guerrilla and I shot down a yankee plane," Matojo responds. The centerfold cutout was a red Vietnamese style hat.

Perhaps the most striking thing about talking to hundreds of Cubans is that despite the heavy dose of propaganda, there is a tremendous reservoir of friendship for the United States.

In part this is due to a Cuban government policy of always distinguishing between the Nixon administration, constantly compared to Hitler, and the "good" American people. One of those who has recently made it in the latter category is Sen. George McGovern, the Demo-

"It is even said that one of the presidential candidates is in favor of lifting the blockade against Cuba," Castro told cheering "25th of July" crowds. But objecting to the Democratic party platform, Castro said, "At the same time it was stipulated that Cuba cannot become a Soviet military base."

We would like to tell those gentlemen, for a starter, that in our territory, we do as we damn please!"

But the sympathy towards McGovern, particularly among young people who privately yearn for a political change, is marked.

A recent newspaper cartoon sympathetically depicted a donkey standing on his hind legs holding a sign that read "donations for the election campaign" and a tin cup, that read "Democrats."

Cubans consider themselves very much a part of the American community of nations, despite the fact that they have been kept outside the Organization of American States, which voted to impose trade sanctions eight years ago.

A large brightly-lit neon sign in downtown Havana reads, "What is Cuban history if not the history of the Americas?" An American flag is even marched with all Latin American flags during official parades. The last demonstration in front of the barricaded U.S. embassy building, now home for the Swiss consulate was in 1969, after a group of Cuban fishing boats was seized by a Cuban exile group.

The Voice of America radio station is capably jammed but Cubans can receive a number of stations in Florida, only 90 miles away, including a Miami station that broadcasts almost exclusively professional U. S. baseball games, Cuba's favorite sport.

Despite the "no compromise" diplomatic postures that both the U.S. and Cuban government have adopted, both sides are quietly beginning to grant visas to some types of visitors. A group of American scientists were permitted in July to attend an oceanographic conference in Cuba and this month two U. S. sugar experts reportedly has granted visas to a number of Cuban physicists to visit Washington later this month for an international conference sponsored by the National Academy of Science.

There is even an unconfirmed report that Cuba is building a new hotel at Cienfuegos for the purpose of inviting the children of Cuban exiles in the United States who were 16 or under when they left Cuba to return for a one month, expense paid visit, with guaranteed "safe conduct" back to the United States.

Fidel Castro once said that Cuban youngsters were not responsible for their actions and therefore could return to Cuba to see the "revolutionary gains." The obvious hope is that a few will decide to stay behind.



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# Barker Is 'Macho' To Others

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY  
Star-News Staff Writer

The others call Bernard L. Barker, one-time U.S. Air Force Captain, CIA operative and Cuban policeman, "Macho," a word which means he-man in Spanish and is reserved for strong and respected figures.

Barker at 55 is balding, bespectacled and running to thickness in the waist and he does not project the gladiator magnetism of his muscular follower, Frank Sturgis, the tough ex-Marine from Edson's Raiders and Cuban gun-running days.

However, Barker, soft-voiced but decisive, projects an image of dominance when he is among the other Miami-based defendants in the Watergate case. Barker does not growl or shout orders at his group — Sturgis, Eugenio Martinez and Virgilio R. Gonzalez — but they defer to him.

The association of the four emerged, in several hours of conversation here yesterday, as easy and relaxed. But, when the group walked together, the other three almost automatically fell a pace or two behind Barker.

## Dates on His Daughter

From previous interviews, Barker has become fairly well known, at least as a personality: an anti-Castro activist, former operative for the CIA, half-Cuban American whose own appraisal of himself almost reaches the super-patriot.

He also is a family man who confesses openly to being in love with his wife of 27 years, Clara, who dotes on his daughter, Maria Elena Moffett of Alexandria, Va.

Sturgis, and, in particular,

Martinez and Gonzalez, are almost unknown to the public except as portrayed in police mug-shots after the Watergate incident and the TV film segments as they enter and leave courthouses.

Gonzalez, 45, a Cuban-born locksmith, is a smiling little man with a sense of humor and an unshakeable belief in the efficacy of firepower. He was a body guard to Cuban President Grah San Martin in the old pre-Castro days.

Yesterday, he was carrying a brief-case the size of an overnight bag for attorney Henry Rothblatt and he recalled that when he was a "guardia de espaldas" (Body-guard in Cuba) he used to carry a submachine gun in just such a bag.

## Consummate Retainer

He waved off a proffered flame from a Zippo and used his own match, because, he said, he once had a larger mustache and burned much of it off with a cigarette lighter. Gonzalez lagged behind the rest of the group, including Rothblatt and Maria Elena, as we walked several blocks to a courthouse area restaurant for lunch.

"I like to look at the backs of my friends," Gonzales said, smiling at his small joke. More seriously while talking about guns, he remembered that in Cuba a policeman could shoot anybody and never face any kind of inquiry.

Essentially, he comes through as a man of more loyalty than conviction, the consummate retainer, a doer of tasks without deep deliberation. One senses that Gonzalez regards Barker as his "pa-

tron" and would follow him without question.

Martinez, 49, is a gray, intense man of obvious intelligence who articulates well. He is a real-estate salesman for Barker's Miami business, and once had a CIA association in smuggling refugees out of Cuba. Where Barker is self-contained, and Sturgis is flip-pantly defiant, and Gonzalez twinkles over his own jokes, Martinez is intense and hot-eyed. He feels deeply the plight of Cuba under Castro and the basic disinterest of North Americans in that is happening in Latin America.

"You people do not pay attention to what is happening and you do not see what the Communists are doing down there," Martinez said. He spoke strongly of a need for the Latin peoples to be treated with dignity.

Martinez is closest to Barker in revealing that he has an ideology which transcends other aspects of his character. Even on short observation, Martinez clearly seems a man of fierce convictions, carefully thought out. Where Gonzalez would appear ready to follow any leader he respected, Martinez would have to share the convictions of that leader.

## Had Right Answers

Sturgis is the most colorful of the group Rothblatt calls "Barker and his boys." He is a burly, 205-pounder in well-fitted knits and spade-shaped sideburns and he looks like what he claims to have once been, a heavy-weight fighter.

Born in Norfolk, Va., he changed his name from Fiorini to Sturgis. All through the Watergate case, Sturgis has been listed as 37 years of age but yesterday he said he was 43 and had served three years in the Pacific with the Raider Battalion of Col. Red Mike Edson.

Sturgis rattled off all the right answers about the training of the Raiders in Samoa, their hard fighting on Guadalcanal where he said he was a Marine corporal, their absorption into the 4th Marine Regiment for the invasion of Guam and then into the 6th Marine Division for the invasion of Okinawa.

Sturgis cuts an imposing figure, like a muscle man on TV, and walks with a strut. He smuggled guns for Castro, then switched sides and helped train the Brigada Asalto 2505 in Guatemala for the ill-fated invasion of the Playa Giron, known in the U.S. as the Bay of Pigs.

No leader like Barker would be ready to confide too much in Sturgis, nor would Sturgis require it. He is not especially a thinker and fancies himself an amiable tough guy. He seems to talk almost too readily about his military exploits ("I refused a purple heart from Adm. Halsey") and one wonders where fact and fantasy divide.

## Tailing the Tails

His character meshes best with little Gonzales, the old Grau pistolero and he jovially said, "Gonzalez was a damned good cellmate."

Barker, the leader, seems outwardly to be a successful businessman who follows the Mami Dolphins, goes fishing and conducts his affairs like the next president of the real estate board.

It is only when he talks of Cuba, Castro and the McGovern candidacy that he steps out of the businessman character and remembers this-and-that about the days when he worked with "our friends," his euphemism for the CIA.

He enjoys telling about his years as a secret policeman for President Fulgencio Batista when American operatives would be tailing anti-Batista Cubans while he, Barker, tailed the Americans.

By his lights, Barker is a dedicated American and he is a man ready to act within his concept of how America should and can be saved. He gives the impression of a man who feels a duty to the United States, of which he is a citizen, and to Cuba, where he was born.

The Miami four are all like that, unashamed. They were caught redhanded in the Democratic National Committee offices so they do not bother to deny they were there. But there is no detectable chagrin that they were caught nor fear of what might happen to them when they are tried.

18 SEP 1972

# The Spies Who Came in For the Heat

Three months ago, the predawn raid on the Democratic National Committee headquarters inside Washington's elegant Watergate complex seemed little more than clumsy political derring-do pulled off by overzealous, aging and inept James Bonds. In the time since, the tangled affair has turned into the political hydra of the Presidential campaign. Each time Republicans have tried to smother the controversy, some fresh embarrassment has popped up to bring it back to life. And as the revelations continue to pile up, the Watergate affair has emerged as the most dramatic clear-cut disclosure of major political espionage in the history of U.S. Presidential elections.

It is a curious and instructive tale, offering rare glimpses into the back rooms of American politics and the antics of obscure soldiers of fortune embarked on a spy-thriller escapade. It features, in addition to the bizarre Watergate break-in, a special squad of White House investigators eavesdropping on the Administration's own telephone calls; a series of espionage coups against the Democrats involving electronic eavesdropping and photographs of documents from Democratic files; \$114,000 in GOP campaign contributions apparently diverted to one of a team of adventurers with CIA and anti-Castro connections; an intricate "money washing" operation aimed at hiding the identities of political donors by channeling funds through a Mexican bank; the secret transfer of \$25,000 in cash on a Miami golf course, and \$350,000 stashed—and apparently unaccounted for—in a Republican Party office safe.

The affair has been painfully embarrassing to the Administration on several counts. Besides the spying issue, it has focused attention on the whole Nixon campaign fund-raising operation—especially the \$10 million raised from big givers before the April 7 deadline under the new law that requires donors to be listed. It has also put the Administration into the position of having to investigate itself while resisting demands for a special independent inquiry.

The full scope of the Watergate caper itself will be charted only when indictments are returned and the case comes to trial—and even then some of its darker byways may never be illuminated. But for a period of weeks, a special NEWSWEEK investigative team led by Nicholas Horrocks and Evert Clark has been at work in Mexico City, Houston, Minneapolis and elsewhere—to try to stitch together the

multiple loose ends and to unearth details of the affair never before exposed. The team's report:

## THE WHITE HOUSE 'PLUMBERS'

The four former CIA operatives and the Cuban locksmith arrested at gunpoint inside the Democratic National Committee headquarters were no isolated band of zealots. And the Watergate raid was by no means an isolated incident. As early as the summer of 1971, a small, tight, political intelligence team was forming up in the basement offices of the Executive Office Building next door to the White House. And its impact would soon be felt all across the 1972 election campaign.

The team was originally formed strictly as a pack of in-house watchdogs. In the fall of 1971, increasingly concerned about a rash of security leaks that began with the Pentagon Papers, Presidential assistant John D. Ehrlichman quietly tapped his able, aggressive deputy, Egil (Bud) Krogh, 31, to plug the leaks. Thus the White House "plumbing" crew was born. Presidential troubleshooter Charles W. Colson rang in an old Army-Navy Club friend named E. Howard Hunt, a retired CIA career spy, prolific pulp novelist and public-relations speechwriter, as a \$100-a-day consultant. From Treasury came G. Gordon Liddy, 42, a bright, ambitious former FBI agent and Dutchess County, N.Y., prosecutor with a flair for the dramatic (once, to make a point in a summation, Liddy fired off a pistol loaded with blanks in the courtroom).

The plumbers stuck to their assigned task—tracing leaks in the newspapers and eavesdropping on the phone conversations of White House staffers to detect signs of disloyalty. But as fall turned to winter and re-election strategy became a more urgent concern, Hunt's and Liddy's attention began to shift from internal Administration security to intelligence-gathering that might be used against the Democrats. They began carefully assembling potentially damaging dossiers on any and all possible Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates—and Hunt in particular launched a fresh investigation into Sen. Edward Kennedy's tragic automobile accident at Chappaquiddick.

At about the same time, the focus of the operation began to shift toward the newly formed Committee to Re-elect the President. In October, a husky, balding electronic eavesdropping specialist named James W. McCord Jr., 53, who had spent nineteen years debugging CIA installations, joined the committee as security coordinator. In December, Liddy himself moved over to the committee. In November, Hunt began a series of phone conversations with a Miami man

Barker, the moneyed son of a Cuban mother and an American father, began assembling a loosely knit team of his own from the Cuban community in Miami. From his own real-estate firm, Barker tapped Eugenio Martinez, a friend of fifteen years who, like Barker, had helped smuggle refugees out of post-Batista Cuba. Frank Sturgis, 49, (formerly Frank Fiorini), an ex-marine given to gun running and girls, joined him. And at Miami's Missing Link Key Shop Barker found a 45-year-old locksmith named Virgilio Gonzales.

To what extent GOP higher-ups knew of the team—and approved of its activities—is unclear. "I suppose it was a 'Do it, don't tell me how you do it' situation," said an insider. The full extent of the team's operations will likely remain a mystery, too. But by last spring a pattern of anti-Democratic espionage had begun to unfold in Washington.

On May 16, the law offices of the eventual Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, R. Sargent Shriver, and the party's credentials committee chief, Patricia Harris, across the yard from the Watergate, were broken into—though nothing appeared to have been stolen. There is no proof that the Watergate five were involved in this or any other break-in before June 17. But on May 26, five men checked into the Watergate Hotel under the same names that the Watergate Five were first to give to the police after their arrest.\* They stayed through the Memorial Day holiday. While they were there, two attempts were made to break into the DNC.

On the night of the 27th, Lawrence O'Brien charged last week, some of the same people later arrested at Watergate made an abortive attempt to plant an eavesdropping device in Sen. George McGovern's pre-convention headquarters on Capitol Hill. O'Brien also charged that his own phone and another DNC line had been tapped for weeks before the raid, and monitored "on a regular daily basis" from Room 723 in the Howard Johnson Motor Lodge across the street.

Only a single hint as to the fruits of all this snooping has so far come to light. A fortnight ago, Michael Richardson, 29, who works in a Miami photo shop, told Miami authorities that two men came to his shop on June 10—a week before the Watergate arrests—with 38 frames of 35-mm. film to be rush-developed. The pictures, said Richardson, showed surgical gloved hands holding a series of documents against a shag rug. Some bore the DNC letterhead; some, the signature of Larry O'Brien. At least one, Richardson stated, appeared to be a dossier on a prominent woman Democrat—possibly Patricia Harris. Shown a random assortment of mug shots, Richardson unhesitatingly identified Bernard Barker and Frank

continued

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STATINTL

## Watergate scandal linked to Nixon

Newsweek in its current issue reports that the group of five men — four former CIA agents and a counterrevolutionary Cuban—who were arrested at gunpoint in the headquarters of the Democratic party in the early hours of June 17 with bugging equipment in their possession, were part of a "political intelligence" team formed in the basement of the White House in the summer of 1971.

The report by Newsweek Washington correspondents Nicholas Horrocks and Evert Clark discloses that the secret group was formed at the request of a top Nixon assistant, John D. Ehrlichman. According to Newsweek, its purpose was to spy on White House personnel for signs of disloyalty, plug leaks to the press and similar "dirty work." For purposes of the election campaign, the group applied its CIA know-how to spying on the Democrats.

The New York Times Tuesday published an interview with Bernard L. Barker, one of the five men arrested at the Watergate Hotel, in which he admitted his participation but refused to name others or to disclose the reasons for the break-in. Barker said he and his associates consider that the election of George McGovern would reflect the beginning of a trend that would lead "to socialism or communism, or whatever you want to call it."

Barker is a registered Republican in Florida. One of the main reasons given for his action is his agreement with Nixon's ultra-rightist policies, including continuation and escalation of the war in Indochina and opposition to socialism in Cuba. Although the interview does not make clear what role Barker played in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, he is known to have been a CIA agent in that plot.

Barker told the Times that he joined the Cuban National Police before the revolution "with the full consent and cooperation of the FBI."

It was through Barker's bank account and through his hands that \$114,000 in funds contributed to the Committee to Re-elect the President passed after at least \$60,000 had been "laundered" to hide its source by being passed through a Mexican go-between.

In other developments, lawyers for the Democrats charged that Maurice Stans, who resigned his post as Secretary of Commerce to work on the campaign to reelect Nixon, paid a "political espionage squad" to spy on leading Democrats and increased the sum demanded as damages from \$1 million to \$3.2 million. They also charged that other bugging attempts were made, including telephone tapping, with transcripts of conversations passed to the Republicans.

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that the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia food license numbers of Heidl and State House are identical with the number on the Briggs container. Thus, all three brands are made by the same manufacturer. A further comparison reveals that the weights are nearly identical: 42 ounces for a half gallon of Briggs and Heidl, 40 ounces for State House. But the prices are not identical: Briggs costs \$1.19, Heidl 99 cents, and State House 69 cents. Because ice cream makers are not required to list the ingredients or butterfat content, the consumer selecting among the three brands has no way of knowing differences in quality or weight.

The difference between the mass-produced ice cream served by Helen and the kind I buy at a bakery is air. Those who remember licking the dashers of a hand-cranked home freezer know that air is introduced into ice cream according to how much the ice cream is beaten. My baker beats his ice cream for only twelve minutes, putting in just enough air to keep it from becoming soggy and gooey. Some factory-made brands are so aereated that no bite or chew is left.

The topping Helen served was Cool Whip, the nondairy dessert manufactured by General Foods. She put two blobs on Frank's dish. They sat like a pair of creamy breasts upon the tan body of luscious-looking ice cream. To me, the Cool Whip was the most revolting part of the meal. It is a "food" made almost entirely from additives and synthetics. After water, the main ingredients as listed are an all-star selection: hydrogenated coconut and palm kernel oils, sugar, vanilla, sodium caseinate, dextrose, polysorbate 60, sorbitan monostearate, carageenan, guar gum, artificial color and flavor. Cool Whip, which won the 1970 award of the Institute of Food Technologists, was described by the Institute as a "stable freezethaw emulsion resembling whipped cream in appearance, utility, and texture when eaten." I passed up the Cool Whip pleasure and wondered if my friends would ever invite me back again.

When I got home that night I looked up a chapter in *Consumer Beware!* in which the author answers the question, "What harm can chemical food additives do?" She writes: "Scientists are becoming aware of the need to study the untoward results [of chemical food additives on health]—those which are slight, unnoticed, delayed, and indirect. These are the subtle effects on the human system at the basic cellular level, resulting from hundreds, even thousands of substances biologically foreign to the body, consumed daily in common foodstuffs, over many years, or even during an entire lifetime." I ate an apple, organically grown, and went to bed.

#### NOTABLE ADDRESS BY DR. MARIO LAZO

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, as a student of U.S. policies in the strategic Caribbean danger zone, I long ago noted the failure of many important sections of our mass news media to report and editorialize objectively on crucial geopolitical events, such as the Communist takeover of Cuba in 1959-61, the Bay of Pigs disaster of 1961, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the attempted Communist takeover of the Dominican Republic in 1965, and the maneuvers by certain elements in the State Department, beginning in 1964, to have us give up our jurisdiction over the Panama Canal.

Fortunately, there are organizations in our Nation's capital city with memberships that well understand what is transpiring and which have the cour-

age to expose the facts. One of them is the District of Columbia Chapter of the Military Order of the World Wars.

At its monthly meeting on May 11, 1972, the speaker was Dr. Mario Lazo, a distinguished Cuban lawyer who holds degrees from Cornell University and the University of Havana. Dr. Lazo founded and for many years headed one of the most respected and successful law firms in Latin America. The U.S. Government was one of his many clients.

At the time of the Bay of Pigs in 1961 Dr. Lazo was arrested and threatened with execution. His wife saved his life and also helped him escape to the United States. He then resolved to devote the rest of his life, if necessary, to finding out how and why Cuba had been surrendered to the Communist empire. The missile crisis, which came a year later, added to his task, to which he brought the investigative skills of a great lawyer and a reputation that permitted him to reach into the highest official circles in Washington. After almost 7 years of researching he wrote "American Policy Failures in Cuba," with the subtitle "Dagger in the Heart," published by Twin Circle Publishing Co., 86 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y., 10024. This alarming and authoritative book has been acclaimed as the definitive account of the Castro era. Not one of its sensational disclosures has been challenged.

Previously, the September 1964 issue of the Reader's Digest had featured an article by Dr. Lazo titled "At Last—The Truth About the Bay of Pigs." The truth had been obscured for more than 3 years because word had gone out unofficially from the White House blaming the disaster on the Chiefs of Staff and the CIA. The Digest article placed the blame where it belonged.

Mr. President, since the address by Dr. Lazo to the Military Order of the World Wars on May 11, 1972, should be of the greatest interest to all Members of Congress and to the Nation at large, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### U.S. POLICY FAILURES IN CUBA

(Address by Dr. Mario Lazo before the Military Order of the World Wars, District of Columbia Chapter, May 11, 1972)

I appreciate very much being invited to be with you today.

It was while searching for the root causes of the Bay of Pigs debacle that I first became aware of the invisible, unrecognized struggle taking place in the United States between socialists or liberals on the one hand and conservatives on the other. This struggle, I have become convinced, permeates every sector of American society, the institutions, organizations of all kinds and the homes. On its outcome hinges the freedom of the Western World.

The Bay of Pigs was a struggle that took place in Washington. The action on the south coast of Cuba could have been cut by a few hours if the Cuban assault brigade had not fought so heroically. But the invasion was doomed by Washington decisions before the first blood had been spilled on the Cuban beaches.

It was a struggle between liberals-socialists and conservatives. In between the two groups was the new and youthful President, who had never been accused of lacking intelligence or courage. But he turned away from the professionals and sided with his political advisers, the "New Frontiersmen" who had breathlessly invaded Washington three months earlier.

The essential feature of the invasion plan was the use of air power. There were to be a minimum of 3 air strikes from Nicaragua with 16 bombers in each strike—that is, a minimum of 48 sorties. These would destroy Castro's 30 planes on the ground before the assault forces hit the beaches. The location of each Castro plane was under constant surveillance by U.S. reconnaissance. There was no way that Castro could hide a plane. Here is what happened.

The first strike was cut in half, on orders from the White House. Then the second strike was cancelled entirely, also on White House orders. Finally, when it was too late to call off the invasion, Kennedy also cancelled the third strike, under pressure from Adlai Stevenson, Dean Rusk and McGeorge Bundy. Thus the minimum of 48 sorties was reduced to 8. Yes, from 48 to 8! That last order sealed the doom of the invasion and marked it for certain disaster.

The Joint Chiefs and the CIA did everything humanly possible to induce the President to countermand these politically motivated and militarily incredible orders. But Kennedy remained adamant and the invasion fleet moved slowly toward catastrophe.

The first strike—really half a strike—destroyed most of Castro's small air force but he still had 2 jets, 3 fast Furies and a couple of B-26s and they commanded the skies. The Free Cubans lost half their planes and pilots the first day. Castro's jets sank 2 of the 5 troop and supply ships and the U.S. commander, from an LCI, ordered the others away. Although Kennedy knew that the Cuban brigade had been promised continuing supplies to the beaches, none were ever delivered. Without dramatizing the episode, this is the authentic account of the most humiliating defeat in the long, bright history of the United States.

Who were the men who advocated watering down the invasion plan? Here they are: McNamara, Stevenson, Fulbright, Robert Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk, Arthur Schlesinger, Walt Rostow, Richard Goodwin and Chester Bowles. Liberals or socialists all.

And who were the conservatives, on the side of the angels? Adam Aleigh Burke, General Lemnitzer, General Cabell and Richard Bissell, Deputy Director of the CIA.

As the reports from the south coast of Cuba grew grimmer by the hour, these men made a final, fervent plea for the only thing that could still save the invasion—the use of American power just over the horizon. Admiral Burke asked that a detachment of Marines be permitted to go ashore. This was denied. He then asked Kennedy to permit the use of one destroyer, to lay down a barrage on the Castro tanks approaching the beachhead over two roads through swamps. The President asked, "What if Castro returns the fire and hits the destroyer?" Burke answered emphatically, "Then we'll knock it out of them." But Kennedy said that then the US would be involved. (The involvement was supposed to be secret). Burke's answer was, "We are involved, Sir. God damn it, Mr. President, we can't let those boys be slaughtered there."

The traditional command structure of the United States, as you well know, has always been one under which the Commander-in-Chief sets the objectives and leaves it to the professionals to conduct the operations. In this case Kennedy kept a tight tactical control over the invasion. He rejected the advice

12 SEP 1972

# Bugging Leader Admits His Role

STATINTL

By WALTER RUGABER  
New York Times News Service

The accused leader of the Watergate raid admits his role in the break-in, but says he would rather serve a long prison term than implicate others or disclose the background of the affair.

In a private, two-hour interview here Friday, Bernard L. Barker repeatedly gave the impression that there were names to be named and motives to be cleared up. But he said it will not be done by him.

Barker, a 55-year-old former employe of the Central Intelligence Agency, was one of five men captured inside headquarters of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate on June 17.

Various persons, including officials of President Nixon's campaign organization, have been accused by Democrats of being connected with the raid. Barker was asked whether he would take responsibility for anyone else actually involved.

"Just because I get in trouble, I don't want nobody else to get in trouble," he said. He added that he had "always delt with the paramilitary, the intelligen ccmovement, the people who live by their word."

Barker did give some insight into the operation and an account of his own background.

He acknowledged outright his role in the break-in. "I was caught in National Democrat (headquarters) at 2:30 in the morning," he said at one point. "I can't deny that."

He praised the three men from Miami who were arrested with him and said he regretted that "those people that I have motivated under me" were caught with him.

He spoke highly of a one-time White House press secretary who has been linked to the raid, E. Howard Hunt Jr., saying he had "never known any-

indebted to as Howard Hunt." He declined to elaborate.

Barker maintained that he had little involvement in politics. "I don't even trust the politicians, to be quite frank with you," he said.

He asserted that most Cuban refugees, including himself, "believe that an election of McGovern would be the beginning of a trend that would lead to socialism and communism or whatever you want tot call it."

Barker's attorney, Henry B. Rothblatt of New York, was present during the interview. It had been made clear in advance that certain sensitive areas could not be discussed.

Barker said that after his arrest, but before he could secure release on bail, government prosecutors had told him they would "keep me in that jail and (let me) rot in there until I talked," but he said he refused.

Barker is an American who was born in Cuba and he says

he is a passionate, unrelenting enemy of Fidel Castro.

Barker suggested that he tries to behave like the men he seems to admire most: Men he has known in one covert operation or another over the years.

"They're anonymous men," he said. "They hate publicity; they get nervous with it."

The men who went into the Watergate offices with him did so, he suggested, not for money, but for "something else": A cause they considered righteous.

"I've never looked at myself as a burglar," he remarked at one point in the interview. "It is very repulsive to me when I read the 'alleged burglar' — this gripes me.

"I'm not as a burglar. I'm of that formation. I have been a police officer, and I can't con-

ceive of myself as a burglar."

He was asked:

"How is all this going to turn out for us whodunit readers and whodunit writers? Are we going to come to a final chapter in which it is all revealed and explained?"

A. Yes, I have a very good attorney and I think that he'll try to get me off as well as possible.

Q. But getting you off may involve never having that last chapter written.

Rothblatt (laughing). Let me say this: It probably will be

told but not told directly. It will be told indirectly.

Barker was born in Havana. His American father and Cuban mother, who became an American citizen and who died

in the United States, were divorced, and he was raised by aunts on a farm near Marial Bay.

He attended Roman Catholic parochial schools in Cuba, and later came to live with his mother in a suburb of New York City.

## Joins Army

He worked in a steel mill in Baltimore for two years, then entered the University of Havana. He was a sophomore when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.

He joined the Army Air Forces and was a bombardier. On his 12th flight a fighter shot down his B-17 and he bailed out over German territory. He was imprisoned for 16 months.

Barker was liberated by the Russians and he left the Army late in 1946. He married the daughter of a Cuban senator, and his wife's family gave them a home.



# Watergate Questions Abound

By Jim Mann  
and Bob Woodward

Washington Post Staff Writers

It was exactly 11 weeks ago today that the story burst across the front pages for the first time: five men arrested in the early morning hours inside the offices of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate Hotel.

Wearing rubber surgical gloves. Carrying burglary

## News Analysis

gear, electronic eavesdropping equipment, cameras for photographing documents, walkie-talkies, and consecutively numbered \$100 bills. Included among the five, was the chief security consultant to the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

The investigation of the break-in took a curious path, leading from Washington to Miami to Mexico to Minnesota and elsewhere, involving everything from foreign bank accounts and hidden fund stashes to the Bay of Pigs invasion and the CIA.

Somewhere along the line, it became known as the "Watergate Capers"—a major issue in the 1972 presidential campaign.

Yet after all the disclosures, publicity and furor of the past 11 weeks, almost all the principal questions raised by the incident remain unanswered:

- What were those five men doing inside the Watergate? What was the purpose of allegedly bugging and collecting information on the Democrats? And were they attempting to remove, not plant, a bug?

- What was the extent of involvement of officials of the Nixon re-election campaign or of the Nixon administration?

- How thoroughly and honestly are the investigations being conducted?

• What effect will it all have on the presidential campaign this fall?

## I. Purpose and Scope

Ever since the break-in, a number of theories have been advanced regarding its purpose.

First, there was what might be called the "Cuban refugee" theory, which assumed that the men arrested inside the Watergate were members of a fringe Cuban group perhaps worried that the Democrats might be seeking friendlier relations with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. Among those advancing this idea in the days after the break-in was at least one staff member at the White House.

The Cuban theory is based primarily on the fact that four of the five men arrested June 17—Bernard Barker, Frank Sturgis, Eugenio Martinez and Virgilio Gonzales—lived in Miami and were either Cubans or had extensive contacts with Cuban exiles there.

Arguing against the Cuban theory has been the accumulation of evidence that members of President Nixon's own campaign staff, the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP), were involved in the break-in.

The man providing the initial clue to Republican involvement was the fifth person arrested in the break-in, James W. McCord Jr., a retired CIA employee who was the chief of security for the Nixon campaign.

On the day after the arrests, John N. Mitchell, then the Nixon campaign chairman, sought to disassociate the campaign staff from McCord, saying, "He (McCord) has, as we understand it, a number of business clients and interests, and we have no knowledge of these relationships."

The next clue was the discovery, two days after the break-in, that another former CIA employee, E. Howard Hunt Jr., who had been a \$100-a-day White House consultant, was listed in address books taken from two of the five arrested men. Next to Hunt's name in the address books were the notations "W.House" and "W.H." It was later determined that Hunt had had

ker in the months before the break-in.

Hunt, by most accounts, was a friend and consultant to White House special counsel Charles W. Colson and was brought to the White House on Colson's recommendation. Shortly after Hunt's name was linked to the case, he disappeared, and according to authorities, 150 FBI agents began a nationwide search for him. It ended when his Washington attorney told authorities that Hunt would agree to return and answer questions.

Adding to the intrigue was a tidbit of the kind that began to come out every few days in the ensuing weeks: Hunt, according to others in the White House, had spent months quietly doing research on Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and his 1969 Chappaquiddick automobile accident.

Yet another link to the Nixon campaign was provided in late July, when it was revealed that G. Gordon Liddy was fired by Mitchell June 28 for refusing to answer FBI questions about the Watergate incident. (Mitchell himself resigned two days later, asserting that he wanted to accede to his wife's wishes and return to private life.)

Liddy, a one-time White House aide, was the chief adviser to the Nixon campaign staff on the new congressional statute requiring stricter reporting of campaign contributions. In the eyes of some people on the campaign staff and others close to the investigation of the Watergate incident, Liddy was probably the second-ranking policy-maker in the Nixon fund-raising effort, next to finance chairman Maurice Stans.

Telephone records of the Miami home and office of Barker (one of the five arrested men) revealed that Barker had placed at least 15 long-distance calls to the Nixon campaign offices between March 15 and June 16, most of them to Liddy's extension there. The records also showed that Barker had made 29 long-distance calls to Hunt's home and offices from Nov. 19 to June 16.

Another link between the

Nixon re-election staff was provided Aug. 1 when it was reported that a \$25,000 check representing funds raised for the Nixon campaign was deposited in April in Barker's bank account.

It was this revelation, six weeks after the incident itself, that seemed to give the Watergate caper a new, more important twist. The Democrats, trying to recuperate from the Eagleton affair, began to seize on it daily.

The check represented a contribution from Dwayne Andreas, a Minnesota investor, who reportedly gave the \$25,000 in cash to Kenneth H. Dahlberg, the President's chief fund-raiser in the Midwest. Dahlberg said that he used the cash to obtain a cashier's check made out to himself from a Florida bank, and that he personally handed that check to Maurice Stans, the finance chairman for the Nixon campaign.

Stans later said that he held the check for a few minutes and then turned it over to Nixon campaign treasurer Hugh W. Sloan Jr., who in turn gave it to Liddy. No one has explained the exact details of how the money ended up in Barker's bank account, or how much of it Barker actually kept. Sloan resigned from the Nixon campaign staff over the summer.

It later developed that another \$69,000, also deposited in Barker's bank account, represented contributions to the Nixon campaign that were raised in the Southwest and were moved through a Mexico City bank to insure that the donors would remain anonymous. According to investigators, this money, like the other \$25,000, passed through the Washington office of the Nixon re-election committee.

All of these links suggest strongly that the alleged bugging may have been concocted not by some Cuban exile group, but by at least some individuals connected with the Nixon campaign staff and the White House (such as Liddy, Hunt and McCord). A few days ago, in fact, a source close to the investigation reported that Liddy and Hunt were actually inside the Watergate

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STATINTL

# GOP spy fund tied to HHH's 'angel'

STATINTL

Special to the Daily World

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 1 — Dwayne Andreas, the Midwest "Soy Bean King," who was linked to the June 17 aborted burglary of Democratic headquarters, is a long-time financial angel of Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn) and a backer of anti-communist operations.

These facts, either buried or completely ignored in press accounts of the break-in, are developed in an exclusive story in the Sept. 2 issue of the People's World, workingclass weekly published here.

Andreas tried to keep secret a \$25,000 contribution to the Nixon re-election fund but the story leaked out after money in the possession of one of the arrested burglars, Bernard L. Barker, a Miami real estate dealer, was traced to the Andreas gift.

Hitherto, Andreas had been a Humphrey sugar daddy, aiding the Minnesota senator and many of his political associates through the Andreas Foundation.

Then how come the shift by Andreas to the Nixon crowd? What follows is from the People's World account:

**Got bank charter — fast**

The hint carried by the Associated Press Aug. 27 concerned a much coveted federal bank charter speedily given to Andreas two weeks ago for his Ridgedale National Bank in the Minnetonka shopping center near Minneapolis.

However, not mentioned in any of the wire service reports at the time of this writing are the

following interesting dealings between Andreas and the Nixon Administration:

- Last year when a banking operation Andreas heads sought to form a new giant financial conglomerate in Minnesota it was found they could not do so without violating amendments passed in 1970 to the Bank Holding Act. The companies involved sought and got federal approval for an intricate juggling and hand changing of millions of dollars in order to comply with the law.

- A company Andreas heads has a suit pending against it, filed by the Justice Dept. charging violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

- The man who received Andreas' \$25,000 contribution and passed it on to the Republicans is a director of the Andreas bank which is involved in both of the above dealings.

**Pending anti-trust suit**

Andreas is the president of the Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., the largest domestic soybean processor. In September, 1971, the Justice Dept. filed a civil anti-trust suit against the company charging its 1970 acquisition of two soybean companies, one in Nebraska and one in Kansas, violates the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The suit is still pending.

Taking over the two companies meant that Archer-Daniels-Midland could control two-thirds of the Kansas soybean crop and over 90 percent of the beans grown and processed in Nebraska.

On Oct. 1, 1971, plans were announced for formation of the Independent Bancorporation, a holding company. It was envisioned as joining as many as 10 Minnesota banks and 35 other institutions in the state. A subsidiary of the Independent Bancor-

poration when it was formed was the First InterOceanic Corp., of which Andreas is chairman.

First InterOceanic, in turn, controls 84 percent of the National City Bank of Minneapolis where Andreas and his brother, Lowell Willard Andreas, are directors. First InterOceanic is a wholly owned subsidiary of Archer-Daniels-Midland.

**Subtle shuffle**

Money dealings at that level of the capitalist pyramid are pretty complicated, but simply stated the arrangement was in violation of the law. So, with government approval, the Andreas-Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. had to divest itself of its banking interests. This was done by distributing the Independent Bancorporation shares to individual Archer-Daniels-Midland shareholders.

On June 14, 1972 the Internal Revenue Service ruled the above maneuvers were all right and the company had complied with the law.

Kenneth H. Dahlberg, chairman of the Minnesota Committee to Re-elect President Nixon, told the General Accounting Office that Andreas had called him June 5 and offered the contribution. That would make it two days before new laws went into effect which would have made it impossible for Andreas to contribute anonymously. Dahlberg said he picked up the money on June 9, as arranged, from a third party in a Miami hotel.

The news reports so far have not mentioned the fact that Dahlberg is a director of Andreas' National City Bank.

Andreas is known to have only recently become the president of the Sea View Hotel Corp. in the Miami Beach-Bal Harbour area.

Following the Dahlberg pickup

# Soldiers of Fortune— A Vanishing Breed

**T**he trade of a mercenary—a hired soldier—isn't what it used to be, according to Joe Maggio.

Mr. Maggio, who's been out of the business more than seven years (ever since the war in the Congo between Joseph Mobutu and Moise Tshombe), says pessimistically that there doesn't seem to be much call nowadays for soldiers of fortune.

"Back in the Congo days you could walk into the Memling Hotel or the Purple Cow Bar in Leopoldville and wind up with a well-paying fighting job," says Joe with a trace of nostalgia. "Today it's gotten much tougher."

✓ Maggio says he has done most of his own free-lance fighting on behalf of the CIA which, he claims, has freely employed mercenaries in the past. Working on contract as a CIA "adviser," he has seen service in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, in Laos, Thailand and elsewhere. He has just written a novel based on his experiences called *Company Man*, published by Putnam. The title alludes to the CIA which, Maggio says, is known among mercenaries as "The Company."

✓ Maggio got his credentials for mercenary work by serving a three-year

hitch in the Marines after dropping out of military college.

"People become mercenaries for two reasons," he explains. "Either they're attracted by the romance of the idea, or they're trying to get away from something. With me it was the romance. I thought the most adventurous life possible was that of a soldier of fortune."



Photo of a soldier of fortune: Maggio ready for jump into Vietnam in 1963.

Maggio claims that he doesn't share the feeling of many mercenaries that it doesn't matter whom you're fighting for as long as the pay is good. "Some mercenaries have a mentality that says 'For \$500 I'll kill this guy.' I never felt like that. My idea was to be on the right side. Like in the Bay of Pigs, we thought we were right. We also never doubted that we'd win, with the whole weight of the U.S. supposedly behind us."

Maggio, a 34-year-old native of Atlantic City, N.J., who now makes his home on a schooner in Nassau, says that the best mercenary force in the world still is the fabled French Foreign Legion, which numbers around 8000 men and is stationed mostly in Southern France. He claims, make particularly good mercenaries.

## Pay is good

For most mercenaries, he admits, the big attraction still is the money. "A free-lance infantryman makes up to \$1200 a month," he says, "and a pilot as much as \$2600. That's tax-free, of course—you don't get W-2 forms when you're a mercenary. And you also keep all you can steal."

Maggio says that the quality of mercenaries isn't as high as it used to be.

"There were about 3000 soldiers and 500 officers in the Congo," he recalls. "The officers were pretty good material but there were plenty of alcoholics, deviates and bums among the troops. I saw some guys there that were in the Bay of Pigs operation, too."

Maggio ascribes the current lack of mercenary opportunities to a UN crack-down on hired armies following events in the Congo. But despite the present lack of openings, Maggio says there still are plenty of would-be mercenaries ready for action. However, he can't recommend it as a likely career, especially for youngsters ready to run away from home in search of adventure.

## Experience necessary

"You really have to have a good background as a soldier and the papers to prove it," he says. "There's an office in Paris that keeps a kind of register of available mercenaries. I don't know just where it's located right now, but if I went over there to the neighborhood of the Boulevard St.-Michel and the Rue St.-Jacques I could find it in no time. You can go there and apply, but they want credentials on your military record—they're interested only in true professionals. If they do get you a job, they keep 30 percent of your pay for six months."

"But there just doesn't seem to be any market for mercenaries any more. The profession is dying out. I can see why, but it's too bad for a lot of guys who were men left behind by time and could only find themselves in this kind of life. I know that there are lots of people who'll say 'good riddance,' but for me there's a kind of sadness in it, too."

J.H.K.

PARADE • AUGUST 27, 1972

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GARDEN CITY, N.Y.  
 NEWSDAY  
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# *Mob Rethinking Its Heroin Ban To Do 'a Service to the Country'*

STATINTL

By Tom Renner

New York Cosa Nostra leaders are considering a proposal to reenter the international narcotics traffic to increase income for restless and money-hungry young Turks of the mob and to take drugs out of the suburbs and confine them to the ghettos, a federal source said yesterday.

The question of whether the New York-New Jersey crime families should get back into the business of wholesaling heroin and cocaine, the federal source said, was discussed at an Aug. 12 meeting of the Cosa Nostra Commission on Staten Island. The same subject, the source said, also was discussed at a meeting of crime family consiglieri (advisers) in the New York area last week.

Since shortly after the jailing of the late crime boss Vito Genovese and Bonanno underboss Carmine (Lillo) Galante for narcotics conspiracy in early 1960, the five New York crime families and a majority of the 27 crime families across the country have had a firm rule against its members' dealing in narcotics. The rule was invoked because of federal narcotics laws that had resulted in long jail terms for those convicted of dealing in narcotics. The decision to get out of the traffic did not stem from any moral concern for those who bought heroin but from a fear by the bosses that those arrested dealing narcotics might turn informer to lighten their jail terms. Informers, in turn, would endanger the structure of Cosa Nostra, its captains and its bosses, by talking about other criminal activities.

Before the narcotics ban, mentioned in 1963 by mob informer Joseph Valachi, the three major New York families dealing in drugs were those of Bonanno, Luciano and the Gambino family dealt very sparingly in drugs and New England families

did not handle them at all. Narcotics were sold mainly in ghettos to blacks. When the ban was imposed after Genovese's jailing, blacks and Puerto Ricans rushed into the vacuum. By the mid '60s, after a massive influx of Cubans to the area, that ethnic group cornered the New York market, with a paramilitary organization.

Recently, younger members of the Cosa Nostra anxious for the quick, large profits, have agitated for reentry into the trade. So far they have been held in check, at times violently.

But the outside profit has remained a temptation.

"The question of reentering the narcotics trade was proposed by the Natale Evola crime family," the source said. "Their history as the old Joseph Bonanno family was steeped in narcotics deals. They had the lines of communication from the U.S. to Canada to France through their Canadian members." The Canadian branch of the family, he said, now is a separate crime family controlled by Giuseppe Cotroni, identified before congressional investigating committees as a prominent narcotics trafficker.

The federal source said no firm decision was reached at the commission or at the consigliere meeting. "What is amazing was their reasoning for reentering the dope traffic," he said. Aside from the profit motive, "they felt that they would be doing a service to the country. They said that narcotics had become a widespread, national problem only after Cosa Nostra got out of the business. They had kept it

in the ghettos; now it's in the suburbs because of other groups, including the blacks and Cubans who are the principal distributors and sellers."

The source said that commission members from New York wanted to meet with Santo Trafficante of Florida, because they believed he had close contacts with a criminal group known as the Corsicans, a Mafia-style organization that was formed on the Isle of Corsica and was known as "Unione Corsa." The Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and the U.S. State Department have said the Corsicans were the principal wholesalers and smugglers of heroin in Europe. A recent State Department survey said the Corsicans were an "ethnic group above all others that has controlled the heroin traffic in France." Investigators have found that opium shipped from Turkey, the largest source of raw opium, is smuggled into France for processing. West Germany also was cited as a major storage depot for stocks of smuggled opium and morphine.

The federal source said that between 1961 and 1968, Trafficante and his organization were in financial trouble. He said that in 1969, Trafficante made a trip to Hong Kong and then sent a courier to Saigon for a meeting with Corsican representatives. He said the Corsicans, in addition to their other involvement with drugs, were primarily responsible for supplying heroin to U.S. troops in Vietnam. The source said Trafficante then made a secret trip to Saigon to meet with Corsican representatives. The meeting, he said,

M - 237,967

S - 566,377

STATINTL

NEW FICTION SHELF

# CIA — fact and fancy

By Robert A. McLean  
Globe Staff

*COMPANY MAN*, by  
Joe Maggio. G. P. Putnam's  
Sons, 222 pp., \$6.95.

Fictionalized exposes of  
America's secret agencies,  
like the Central Intelli-  
gence Agency here, usually  
ring true in places and  
smack of melodrama in  
others.

But, some will say, much  
of what the CIA reportedly  
does sounds more like a  
Class B spy thriller in the  
first place, so why not  
relax and enjoy yourself.

Ex-CIA mercenary Mag-  
gio has some fine moments  
as he follows Company  
Man Nick Martin from his  
recruitment into the CIA's  
Special Operations Divi-  
sion (SOD) through a dec-  
ade of undercover assign-  
ments in Cuba, Vietnam  
and the Congo and to his  
ultimate and abrupt sepa-  
ration from the agency.

When you fall out of  
favor in the Company,  
they don't fire you; they  
fire at you. Ex-Marine and  
former Green Beret Martin  
is accustomed to the hard  
life, but he decides to quit  
after he disobeys orders to  
rescue South Vietnamese  
partisans, and the Compa-  
ny reassigns him to an  
"expendable" role in the  
trigger-happy Congo.

Maggio's detailed de-  
scription of the CIA's se-  
cret training academy in  
Virginia, where Martin  
learns his new trade, is  
perhaps the most-inter-  
esting section of the novel. It  
sounds like Maggio might  
have been through the  
course himself.

The Martin adventures  
— the Bay of Pigs, Tonkin  
Gulf, and Cambodia —  
sound more like actual  
CIA operations; they are  
that slam-bang and wild.  
And his defection to the  
Congolese mercenary forces  
again sounds as if it may  
have happened to someone,  
perhaps with not as much  
blood, sweat and gore as  
Martin's retirement, but in  
some similar fashion.

Maggio obviously has a  
deep gripe against the  
Company, and he happily  
expounds on it, as any dis-  
gruntled Company Man, at  
every opportunity. But at  
the same time he dashes  
off some fair-to-middling  
adventure /prose, with  
enough cutting and thrust-  
ing, bombing and blasting,  
to satisfy any devotee of  
violence.

STATINTL

20 AUG 1972

# Keep Your Eye on Al-

## Gen. Alexander Haig, That Is. His Star Is Rising.

STATINTL

by Lloyd Shearer

SAN CLEMENTE, CALIF.

**W**ith the exception of the President, no one in the Nixon Administration has been more publicized than Henry Kissinger, Nixon's National Security Affairs adviser.

Yet Kissinger does not work alone. He heads a staff of 110 including messengers, secretaries, researchers, and braintrusts, all self-effacing, hard-working men and women, none of them known to the public.

Of late, however, one of Dr. Kissinger's loyal and intrepid band of devoted slaves has begun to surface.

Mark his name carefully: Maj. Gen. Alexander Meigs Haig Jr.

At 47, Al Haig is tall, blue-eyed, and more handsome and sex-appealing than secret agent Kissinger whose deputy he is.

Soft-speaking and tactful, subtly ambitious with just the right amount of ruthlessness, Al Haig is second in command at National Security Affairs. He is Henry's "gute rechte hand" (good right hand).

### Checks on Vietnam

It is he who holds together the dedicated "low profiles" who work for Kissinger while Henry cavorts in strange and foreign lands. It is through him that the mountain of position papers on Vietnam, the Middle East, the Soviet

Union, South Africa, and ad infinitum is funneled. And it is he, without fanfare or publicity, who wings off to Vietnam every six months or so, to assess firsthand for the President how things are really going.

Last month Haig returned directly to San Clemente from his eighth trip to Southeast Asia and briefed the President on conditions in Vietnam and Cambodia. He was then trotted out on a non-attribution basis to the press, which described him as "an unidentified, high-ranking source."

Although Al Haig has spent the past 27 years in the Army, "my entire adult life," he neither looks nor behaves like a military prototype. He is not obdurate or parochial. There is no rigidity to his mind, which is open and inquiring, or to his speech, which is academic and articulate.

Haig could very well be taken for a college professor or a diplomat, which in a sense he is. For diplomacy is certainly a requisite in getting on with taskmaster Kissinger whose tolerance quotient is low and personnel turnover high.

Last month when Henry invited Haig to the swank Bistro restaurant, one of Kissinger's favorite restaurants in Beverly Hills, along with actress Sally Kellerman, Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin, and a flock of screen colony Republican fat-cats, several waiters mistook Haig—heaven help him, for an actor.

### Probable inheritor

Should anything happen to Henry, like being appointed Secretary of State, or being incapacitated by one of his scorned girlfriends, Haig most probably would inherit Kissinger's job.

Although philosophically Kissinger and Haig see eye to eye—both are conservatives—Haig as foreign affairs adviser to the President, would certainly avoid the spotlight Kissinger, by his nature, attracts.

To begin with, Haig is a happily-married, churchgoing Roman Catholic.

Son of a lawyer, he was born in Philadelphia, attended parochial grade school in Cynwyd on the Main Line, moved up to St. Joseph's Prep and studied two years at Notre Dame before his appointment to West Point came through in 1944.

His brother, a priest, is president of Wheeling College in West Virginia, and his sister, Regina Meredith, an attorney in Pennington, N.J.

Like many young men, Al Haig set his eye on a service academy appointment because it was a financial necessity. "My father died when I was 10," he explains, "and I had pretty much to fend for myself in terms of economics. I had newspaper routes, worked for the Post Office, the Atlantic Refining Company. I even worked as a floorwalker in the ladies' department of John Wanamaker's (a well-known department store in Philadelphia) to support myself."

## Havana suspected in the Watergate break-in

Scrabble, Va.

We had as our guest one night last week a gentleman, now retired, who had spent his life in intelligence work. The after-dinner conversation turned to the Watergate caper. Our guest had a few speculations to offer. I pass them along.

By way of background: This bizarre affair broke into the news in the early hours of June 17, when five men were caught red-handed in the offices of the Democratic National Committee, located in the plush Watergate apartment complex in Washington. Their mission, by every indication, was political espionage.

Four of the five men had backgrounds in Miami, where they were identified with the Free Cuba, anti-Castro movement. The fifth was a former CIA employee, James W. McCord, Jr., now a private consultant on security procedures. When it transpired that Mr. McCord numbered among his clients both the Committee for the Re-election of the President and the Republican National Committee, the affair became the talk of our town. And much later, when the story broke that a \$25,000 cashier's check, payable to the Nixon committee, had found its way to the bank account of one of the four Miami suspects, the Watergate caper turned into a political time bomb.

"I am out of the game," said our guest. "I know nothing more than I have read in the papers. My own assignments never involved Cuba, but my guess, all the same, is that the key to the Watergate incident is not in Miami or in Washington, but in Havana."

We were sitting out on the deck, listening to the night noises—an owl, a whippoorwill, a pack of hounds on the trail of a fox. A soft breeze rippled the smoke of our guest's cigar.

"Suppose," he said, "just to be supposing, that the Castro government is deeply interested in normalizing relations with the United

States. It would make sense to suppose that if the United States could reverse its policy toward China, the U.S. could reverse its policy toward Cuba.

"But not under Nixon. The President, if I am not mistaken, remains absolutely frosty toward Castro. He has made not the slightest gesture toward a Cuban rapprochement, but Havana might well suppose that the Democrats, if they could put their man in the White House, would take a more flexible view.

"So let us suppose, to be supposing, that a decision is made in Havana, at the highest levels of the Castro government, secretly to feel out the Democrats on this score. This is maybe early March. The idea is to send an emissary to the Democratic National Committee, rather than to any one of the candidates, with a nice proposition: If the party would take a sympathetic view toward normalizing relations with Cuba, well, Cuba would take a sympathetic view of the Democrats' urgent need for campaign contributions. The proposition might not be put so bluntly, but the offer would be unmistakable: Money. Big money."

He paused for a moment, intent on the hounds giving chase. "Now suppose," he went on, "to be supposing, that the Free Cuba people in Miami get wind of the thing. We have to assume they maintain an excellent intelligence apparatus in Havana. Eventually they find out who the emissary will be—probably a Washington or New York lawyer who could visit the committee offices without raising the least alarm. In time they learn when he's coming—say, on June 19. But early on, they begin to think in terms of a deal of their own.

"The Miami people get in touch with their old CIA contacts in Washington—contacts kept alive since the Bay of Pigs. Would the Republicans be interested in exposing the CIA to Havana? A talks to B, and B talks to C, and C is capti-

vaied. He sees glorious visions of a headline in the *Evening Star*: 'Communist Dollars Back Democratic Campaign.' Then C sends a cryptic note up the line through the Nixon committee. For \$25,000, he hints, we might buy something worth a million. Trust me, he says. The top people—John Mitchell and Maurice Stans—never are told anything. The romantics down below are kept almost as much in the dark. But the money changes hands in late April and the

waiting time begins. It ends on June 17."

Our guest studied his glowing cigar. Over on Red Oak Mountain, the hounds of the night hunters suddenly faltered and their cries subsided.

"I doubt that the job was as bungled as they say. I suspect it was blown, probably by a double agent." We sat in silence for a while. "Smart fox," said our guest. "He knew when to take cover. That's all for tonight."

STATINTL

17 AUG 1972

JAMES J. KILPATRICK

## Some Speculations on the Watergate Caper

SCRABBLE, Va. — We had as our guest one night last week a gentleman, now retired, who had spent his life in intelligence work. The after-dinner conversation turned to the Watergate caper. Our guest had a few speculations to offer. I pass them along.

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mistaken, remains absolutely frosty toward Castro. He has made not the slightest gesture toward a Cuban rapprochement, but Havana might well suppose that the Democrats, if they could put their man in the White House, would take a more flexible view.

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11-17 August 1972

# MIAMI BOMB

# PLOT

Democratic Party

wiretapping linked to

STATINTL

CIA assassins

ART KUNKIN

Less than two weeks before the opening of the Republican National Convention, a press conference held at the Los Angeles Press Club heard a woman speaker say that the five men caught wiretapping the Democratic Party National Committee headquarters in Washington's Watergate Hotel were not only involved in the Central Intelligence Agency, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and President Kennedy's assassination but also with plans first revealed last year by Los Angeles Police informer Louis Tackwood to disrupt the Republican National Convention. (See the *Los Angeles Free Press*, October 22, 1971.)

These charges were made by Mae Brussell, a well known private investigator into American political assassinations for the past nine years. She was accompanied by Michael McCarthy of the Citizens Research Investigation Committee, one of the CRIC investigators who originally checked out Tackwood's charges, and Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*. The current issue of *The Realist* (August, 1972) contains a 20-page article by Ms. Brussels which was distributed to the newsmen at the press conference as the basis for Ms. Brussels' assertions.

According to Ms. Brussell the Watergate Hotel, located in Washington, D.C., was the home of John and Martha Mitchell at the time of the attempted wiretapping of the Democratic Party National Committee. John Mitchell, former Attorney General of the United States, had shortly before resigned that prestigious position to head the important Committee to Re-Elect the President.

Also housed in the Watergate Hotel complex are the offices of the Democratic National Committee.

In the early morning hours of June 17, 1972, five men were arrested removing parts of the ceiling from the sixth floor panels in the Democratic National Headquarters. These men possessed expensive electronic equipment, cameras, walkie-talkies, burglary tools, and other James Bond accessories.

Two of the men arrested had in their possession the telephone number of Howard Hunt, White House consultant who had previously worked with the CIA for 21 years.

James McCord, Jr., employed as Chief of Security for Mitchell's Committee to Re-Elect Richard Nixon, was one of the five men arrested. McCord was formerly employed by the CIA for nineteen years, having left two years previously at approximately the same time as Hunt. McCord's position with the CIA was Chief of Security over the entire grounds of the immense CIA compound at Langley, Virginia. According to Mae Brussell, this put McCord in a very high, responsible position in relation to CIA Director Helms who could not conceivably carry out any intelligence planning without relying on McCord to ensure that CIA plans were kept secret.

Nine persons (all registered with false names suspiciously similar to names used in novels written by Howard Hunt) stayed at the Watergate Hotel May 26 to 29, and again June 17 and 18. Five of them, the night of their arrest, were discovered in the Democratic Party offices. When the FBI and FBI-Watts noticed pieces of scotch tape over the door locks, Washington police arrived and made the arrests.

According to Don Freed of CRIC (who was not at the press conference but submitted additional material to the *Free Press*), within six weeks of the first arrests it was known that at least 12 men and \$114,000 were involved, and that the invaders were discovered putting forged documents of some kind into files, not taking papers out. They were not burglars, they were not functioning with a "bugging" budget or with the numbers usually associated with mere wiretapping.

(We must caution, however, that the *Free Press* has no means at present of independently verifying facts such as documents being planted instead of being removed, and that Don Freed, evidently, bases much of his information on a collation from such sources as the *Washington Post*, which has published carefully documented articles on the raid. Freed has also made investigative trips to Washington, D.C.).

Following the raid, a million dollar suit was filed by the Democrats against the Committee for the Re-Election of the President for compensatory and punitive damages to the Democratic headquarters. The Nixon Committee then asked a U.S. District Court to postpone the suit until after the November 7th election. To hear the suit before the election, the Committee said, could deter campaign workers and contributions, force disclosure of confidential information and otherwise cause "incalculable damage" to President Nixon's campaign.



## The Watergate Cape

By JOSEPH R. L. STERNE

As every loyal McGovernite knows, a ton of bricks weighs more than a shoe. He knows because he has seen the ton of bricks fall on the Democratic ticket, as originally constituted, in a manner that would do credit to a novel by Allen Drury or Fletcher Knebel. Yet out of the debris has emerged the McGovern-Shriver ticket plus a strong conviction among Democrats that the worst must be over, that the ton of bricks has fallen, and election day is still a blessed three months in the future.

All of which should arouse compassion in kind hearts for the hapless Nixonite. He believes, he suspects, he even knows by all the logic of third-grade arithmetic, that a ton of bricks weighs more than a shoe. But dark and lingering doubts persist because the ton of bricks has already dropped on the Democrats with a very public thud but the shoe keeps dangling, tantalizingly, in the shadows, its weight and velocity and point of impact still unknown.

The dangling Republican shoe in question has become known far and wide as the "Watergate Cape." It started when five men carrying electronic bugging and camera copying equipment were arrested in the middle of a June night at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Wash-

ington's plush Watergate apartment complex. Cynics who doubt there is such a thing as a secret in the Democratic party could not help wondering just what the intruders were up to and who had financed them with how much money and from what source.

As is befitting any good political whodunit, the answers to these basic questions are being withheld as the drama mounts. But we do have an accumulation of intriguing evidence as the plot reaches higher and higher and higher into the upper levels of the Nixon administration.

We now know: (a) that all five intruders had past connections with the Central Intelligence Agency and the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba; (b) that one of them, John W. McCord, Jr., was the former security coordinator for the Committee for the Re-election of the President; (c) that two intruders had notebooks bearing the name of E. Howard Hunt, a White House part-time consultant and former CIA agent who has been unavailable for grand jury testimony; (d) that \$25,000 deposited and later withdrawn from the Miami bank account of the alleged leader of the intruders, one Bernard Barker, had been raised by the Republican finance chairman for the Midwest who, in turn, had given this money

to no less than Maurice Stans, former Secretary of Commerce and Mr. Nixon's national finance chairman, who, in turn, reportedly passed it to Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., former treasurer of the finance committee of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, who resigned July 14 after refusing to answer questions from the Federal Bureau of Investigation; (e) that another \$89,000 went into Barker's account via a Mexican bank, a method that arouses suspicions that someone was trying to hide the source of these funds; (f) that Barker had made several telephone calls to G. Gordon Liddy, an attorney for the Committee for the Re-election of the President who was fired June 28 after he spurned an FBI interrogation; (g) that John Mitchell, former Attorney General, resigned as the President's campaign manager three days later, ostensibly because his wife Martha had insisted he resume private life or she would leave him.

No doubt more clues will come to the surface, despite the best coverup efforts of the Republicans: The General Accounting Office, a watchdog agency of the Congress, is asking whether the GOP campaign funds were diverted for the financing of the Watergate Cape and if the Republicans have violated a strict new law requiring

public disclosure of all contributors after April 7, 1972. The FBI and a Federal grand jury are investigating the break-in attempt at the Watergate to determine if there are grounds for criminal indictments. Senator William Proxmire is demanding that a special prosecutor without political connections be named to the case because the Justice Department cannot be expected to pursue the case and defend government figures at the same time. Finally, the Democrats are pushing a \$1 million civil damage suit despite GOP attempts to postpone litigation until after election day on the ground that this could cause "incalculable" harm to the Nixon campaign.

It is reasonable to assume that the President's well-financed, smoothly running campaign for a second term may indeed be harmed by the Watergate Cape. The case, despite its entertaining qualities, raises serious questions about the methods used by some of the President's associates and the commitment of the administration itself to the spirit as well as the letter of the new campaign-financing law that bears Mr. Nixon's signature. Although the shoe may bounce on a few skulls, it would be better for the country and perhaps less painful to the GOP to let it drop than to keep it dangling until election day.

WASHINGTON POST  
8 AUG 1972

# Cuba: No Signs of Drift Back to Free Enterprise

Reuter

HAVANA — Socialist Cuba appears to be in for a period of ideological consolidation while remaining as far as ever from any rapprochement with the United States.

Thirteen years after Fidel Castro's revolution, there are no signs of a weakening of the power structure or of a drift back to the free-enterprise system.

Some observers see the Castro regime's present insistence on ideological purity as reflecting a fear of "deviationism" or "reformism" which might undermine a socialist regime from within, as events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 are held to have done.

Certainly if there are fears, they are not of military aggression from the United States—still less from Cuban exile groups in Florida. That threat was disposed of in the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion staged by the exiles with CIA backing in April 1961.

## Firm Ideology

Now the emphasis has shifted from military readiness—Cuba has one of the strongest armies in Latin America—to the need for a firmer national ideology.

This is one of the main conclusions that Castro seems to have brought back from his two-month tour of several African and East European countries, which ended on July 6. His findings were endorsed in a declaration by the Cuban Communist Party's Central Committee, meeting for the first time since 1968.

The declaration supported Castro's view that a successful struggle against imperialism must be linked with "a sustained ideological battle against chauvinistic, reformist, revisionist, opportunist and neutralist positions as well as against bourgeois liberalism."

## Cuban Demands

As regards the United States, the Central Committee's declaration said: "An improvement of relations is not possible as long as U.S. policy remains dominated by ideas of supremacy and of an international reactionary police force directed against Cuba and other Latin American countries."

Castro went even further in a nationwide address on July 26, Cuba's national day. He said Cuba was ready to remain 5, 10, 20 or 30 years without relations with the United States.

Cuba limited itself to unconditionally demanding U.S. withdrawal from the Guantánamo naval base in eastern Cuba, the end of the U.S. economic embargo, and the end of support for exile activity against Cuba.

Mutual relations could not improve while the United States assumed the right to interfere in any Latin American country, because Cuba represented a standpoint of principle in the continent, Castro said.

He added that no economic advantage could tempt Cuba since in any case the island no longer depended on U.S. trade.

"Our future is assured without United States help," he declared.

Castro described President Nixon as a worse criminal than Adolf Hitler, and warned Washington not to underestimate the Soviet Union's support for Vietnam.

## Mrs. Binh

Present with him on the platform in Havana's Revolution Square was Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, chief Vietcong negotiator at the Paris peace talks.

A large section of Castro's address was devoted to praising the Soviet Union, with whom Cuba's relations had long been cool after Moscow backed down in the 1962 missile crisis. Castro said he looked forward to strong bonds between the Soviet Union and a united Latin America.

"Our future fatherland is Latin America," he went on, but he pointed out that Latin America would first have to make a social and anti-imperialist revolution, which could take many years.

In the meantime, Cuba would link up economically with the socialist camp he said, referring to Cuba's admission this month into Comecon, the East European trading organization.

His speech named five Latin American countries as friendly or progressive — Peru, Chile, Panama, Mexico and neighboring Jamaica. Peru has just resumed diplomatic relations with Havana, and Mexico never broke off relations when other Latin countries did.

Jamaica, which maintains consular relations with Cuba, has been considering full diplomatic relations. Chile's leftist government has recognized Cuba, and the nationalist Panamanian regime has recently been warning up to the Castro government.

## Economic Front

Domestically, austerity continues for the 8,600,000 Cubans, but most industries have reported increased production.

However, the key sugar harvest was disappointingly small this year. No production figure was published, but informed diplomatic sources said it amounted to 4.5 million tons of sugar compared with 8.5 million in 1970 and just under 6 million in 1971. In 1970 almost all the nation's resources were put into the effort to achieve a 10 million-ton harvest. In 1971 and 1972 sugar was de-emphasized.



6 AUG 1972

# The Nation

Raid:

## The Plot Thickens in Watergate Whodunit

WASHINGTON—Only a day after five men were caught breaking into Democratic headquarters in the Watergate apartments here last June, one of them was identified as a security agent for both the Republican National Committee and the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

A day or so after that, it was found that two other men in the raiding party had in their possession address books and other papers bearing the name of a man who has served, at least until recently, as a part-time consultant to the White House.

John N. Mitchell, the former Attorney General then serving as President Nixon's campaign manager, dismissed these developments as coincidental. Neither the White House nor the G.O.P. political apparatus bore any responsibility for the June 17 incident, he announced.

✓ The security agent, James W. McCord Jr., appeared merely to boss uniformed guards. The consultant, E. ✓ Howard Hunt Jr., was said to have worked on stopping the drug traffic and on declassifying the Pentagon papers. Routine stuff, it was said.

✓ More titillating, it seemed, was the fact that all six had past connections with the Central Intelligence Agency. They also had been involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion, and all but Mr. McCord and Mr. Hunt live in Miami, a city rife with fanciful but mostly impractical anti-Castro schemes.

The five men were carrying bugging equipment, copying cameras and large sums of money. When arrested, they gave the police fictitious names. And there were reports that the raid on the Democrats was only one in a series of policially inspired enterprises.

It was all quite mysterious—and highly diffuse. But, as in a typical who-

dunit, new evidence kept popping up as days passed. And most of it led to the Republicans, whose discomfort has been increasing steadily and noticeably the last two weeks. The bits of information being pieced together last week included the following:

The telephone records of the alleged leader of the break-in, Bernard L. Barker, showed repeated calls to the office and home numbers in Washington of G. Gordon Liddy, 42-year-old lawyer for Mr. Nixon's re-election committee.

It turned out that Mr. Liddy, who worked on fund-raising matters, had been dismissed on June 28 for refusing to answer questions concerning the raid put to him in the presence of his counsel by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Democrats immediately noted that Mr. Mitchell, who had dismissed Mr. Liddy, resigned on July 1. This, they suggested, was prompted not by his wife's well-known demand that he drop out of politics but because his men had been caught red-handed.

A \$25,000 cashier's check, payable to the Midwest finance chairman for the Republicans, passed in and out of a Miami bank account controlled by Mr. Barker in April. The chairman, Kenneth H. Dahlberg, explained last week that the check represented money collected in Boca Raton from campaign contributors.

Mr. Dahlberg also said he personally handed the check to Maurice H. Stans, the former Secretary of Commerce now serving as Mr. Nixon's chief money raiser. He said he had no idea how the check wound up in Mr. Barker's bank. Mr. Stans has refused any comment.

Four other checks, totaling \$89,000, passed through Mr. Barker's account at about the same time. They were drawn on the Banco Internacional of Mexico City, but the ultimate source of these funds remained obscure. Banking authorities regarded the handling of all five checks as irregular.

Despite these links to the Nixon campaign, the essential mystery remains. Those who planned the raid (it seemed likely that persons other than those arrested had been involved) were unidentified. And, above all, the purpose of the break-in seemed obscure.

But these details are never explained until the last chapter.

—WALTER RUGABER

6 AUG 1972

# The Bureaucrat's Ten Commandments

By Leslie H. Gelb and Morton M. Halperin

THE AVERAGE newspaper reader in the 1950s must have asked: Why don't we take some of our troops out of Europe? Like himself said we didn't need them all there. Later, in 1961, after the tragicomic Bay of Pigs invasion, the reader asked: How did President Kennedy ever decide to do such a damn fool thing? Or later, about Vietnam: Why does President Johnson keep on bombing North Vietnam when the bombing prevents negotiations and doesn't get Hanoi to stop the fighting?

Sometimes the answer to these questions is simple. It can be attributed squarely to the President. He thinks it's right. Or he believes he has no choice. As often as not, though, the answer lies elsewhere—in the special interests and procedures of the bureaucracy and the convictions of the bureaucrats.

If you look at foreign policy as a largely rational process of gathering information, setting the alternatives, defining the national interest and making decisions, then much of what the President does will not make sense. But if you look at foreign policy as bureaucrats pursuing organizational, personal and domestic political interests, as well as their own beliefs about what is right, you can explain much of the inexplicable.

In pursuing these interests and beliefs, bureaucrats (and that means everyone from Cabinet officials to political appointees to career civil servants) usually follow their own version of the Ten Commandments:

## 1. DON'T DISCUSS domestic politics on issues involving war and peace.

On May 11, 1948, President Truman held a meeting in the White House to discuss recognition of the new state of Israel. Secretary of State George Marshall and Under Secretary Robert Lovett spoke first. They were against it. It would unnecessarily alienate 40 million Arabs. Truman next asked Clark Clifford then special counsel, to the President, to speak. Arguing for the moral element of U.S. policy and the need to contain communism in the Middle East, Clifford favored recognition. As related by Dr. Kenneth Ross in "Genesis 1948," Marshall exploded: "Mr. President, this is not a matter to be determined on the basis of politics.

Unless politics were involved, Mr. Clifford would not even be at this conference. This is a serious matter of foreign policy determination..." Clifford remained at the meeting and, after some hesitation, the United States recognized Israel.

The moral merits of U.S. support of Israel notwithstanding, no one doubts Jewish influence on Washington's policy toward the Middle East. And yet, years later, in their memoirs, both Truman and Dean Acheson denied at great length that the decision to recognize Israel was in any way affected by U.S. domestic politics.

A powerful myth is at work here. It holds that national security is too important, too sacred, to be tainted by crass domestic political considerations. It is a matter of lives and the safety of the nation. Votes and influence at home should count for nothing. Right? Wrong. National security and domestic reactions are inseparable. What could be clearer than the fact that President Nixon's Vietnam troop reductions are geared more to American public opinion than to the readiness of the Saigon forces to defend themselves? Yet the myth makes it bad form for government officials to talk about domestic politics (except to friends and to reporters off the record) or even to write about politics later in their memoirs.

And what is bad form on the inside would be politically disastrous if it were leaked to the outside. Imagine the press getting hold of a secret government document that said: "President Nixon has decided to visit China to capture the peace issue for the '72 elections. He does not intend or expect anything of substance to be achieved by his trip—except to scare the Russians a little." Few things are more serious than the charge of playing politics with security.

Nevertheless, the President pays a price for the silence imposed by the myth. One cost is that the President's assumption about what public opinion will and will not support are never questioned. No official, for example, ever dared to write a scenario for President Johnson showing him how to forestall the right-wing McCarthyite out of Vietnam. Another cost is that bureaucrats, in their ignorance of presidential views, will use their own no-

tions of domestic politics to screen information from the President or to eliminate options from his consideration.

## 2. SAY what will convince, not what you believe.

In the early months of the Kennedy administration, CIA officials responsible for covert operations faced a difficult challenge. President Eisenhower had permitted them to begin training a group of Cuban refugees for an American-supported invasion of Castro's Cuba. In order to carry out the plan, they then had to win approval from a skeptical new President whose entourage included some "liberals" likely to oppose it.

The CIA director, Allen Dulles, and his assistant, Richard Bissell, both veteran bureaucrats, moved effectively to isolate the opposition. By highlighting the extreme sensitivity of the operation, they persuaded Kennedy to exclude from deliberations most of the experts in State and the CIA itself, and many of the Kennedy men in the White House. They reduced the effectiveness of others by refusing to leave any papers behind to be analyzed; they swept in, presented their case and swept out, taking everything with them.

But there remained the problem of the skeptical President. Kennedy

feared that if the operation was a complete failure he would look very bad. Dulles and Bissell assured him that complete failure was impossible. If the invasion force could not establish a beachhead, the refugees, well-trained in guerrilla warfare, would head for the nearby mountains. The assurances were persuasive, the only difficulty being that they were false. Less than a third of the force had had any guerrilla training; the nearby mountains were separated from the landing beach by an almost impenetrable swamp; and none of the invasion leaders was instructed to head for the hills if the invasion failed (the CIA had promised them American intervention).

2 AUG 1972

BOOKS

# James Bonds of Yesteryear

By **ROGER JELLINEK**  
New York Times News Service

In 1941 a British naval intelligence officer named Ian Fleming recommended to Gen. William (Wild Bill) Donovan that he recruit as American intelligence officers men of "absolute discretion, sobriety, devotion to duty, languages, and wide experience." Donovan, a World War I hero and successful Wall Street lawyer, understood the fantasies of writers and presidents, and in a memo to President Roosevelt promised an international secret service staffed by young officers who were "calculatingly reckless," with "disciplined daring" and trained for "aggressive action."

The Office of Strategic Services came to include such James Bonds as John Birch, Norman O. Brown, David K. E. Bruce, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, William Bundy, Michael Burke, Julia Child, Clark Clifford, John Kenneth Galbraith, John W. Gardner and Arthur J. Goldberg. There were others — Sterling Hayden, August Heckscher, Roger O. Hilsman, Philip Horton, H. Stuart Hughes, Clark M. MacGregor, Herbert Marcuse, Henry Ringling North. And still others: John Oakes, Walt W. Rostow, Elmo Roper, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Ralph de Toledano — to name just a few of the hundreds in this book by R. Harris Smith.

SMITH, WHO WAS in the trade himself, resigning in 1968 after a "very brief, uneventful, and undistinguished association with the most misunderstood bureaucracy of the American government," the Central Intelligence Agency, now lectures in political science at the University of California's Extension Division. "This history of America's first central intelligence agency" is "secret" because Smith was denied access to OSS archives, and so had to rely on the existing literature supplemented by some 200 written and verbal recollections of OSS alumni.

The book is densely packed with the bewildering variety of OSS exploits in World War II: Spying, sabotage, propaganda, military training missions, politicking and coordinating resistance groups against the Germans.

OSS agents had to compete as much with their allies as with their enemies.

**OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency.** By R. Harris Smith. Univ. of California Press. 458 pages. Illustrated. \$10.95.

In France and Switzerland, where Allen Dulles operated, the British SOE (Special Operations Executive) was especially grudging. In Germany itself, the OSS lost out to more orthodox American military intelligence, though paradoxically they were strongly represented at Nuremberg, where Gen. Donovan was himself a deputy prosecutor — at the same time that the head of the Nazi secret service, Gen. Reinhard Gehlen, was under OSS protection in exchange for his intelligence network in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

From present perspective the most (literally) intriguing story is that of the OSS in China and Indochina. There were

both pro-Communists and anti-Communists in the OSS, and most agents sympathized with Asian nationalists, so that the OSS aided Thai partisans against the British and, of course, more famously, the Vietminh against the French in Laos and Vietnam (an OSS medic saved Ho Chi Minh's life). Smith's retelling of the tragicomedy of Indochina after the Japanese surrender in 1945, with Vichy and Gaullist French, British, Chinese and the Vietminh jockeying for control, makes a fascinating setpiece.

The book ends with an account of the transformation of the OSS into its "mirror image," the CIA. Smith's admiration for the OSS's wartime pragmatism, its "tradition of dissent" and its anticolonialism suggests his thesis: That the OSS/CIA has been made the straw man of the radical and liberal left. In fact, he asserts, the CIA has been the principal guardian of liberal values in the "intelligence community."

HE REMINDS US that the CIA fought Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, and he argues that the CIA's campaign to fund anti-Communist liberals successfully undermined international Communist organizations and disarmed the paranoid anti-Communism of the FBI and others at home. He notes that CIA liberals worked against Batista for Castro, who betrayed them, allowing the CIA conservatives to plan the Bay of Pigs action. Finally, he points to the evidence in the Pentagon Papers that the CIA has been a critic of the Vietnam War from the beginning.

But the question remains whether the OSS "tradition of dissent" is meaningful, whether it doesn't compromise liberals as much as aid them. Smith's book is full of cryptic references to former OSS agents now prominent in international business and finance. CIA liberalism has not prevented a number of CIA-fomented coups d'etat in favor of military regimes. Even CIA liberal criticism of the war in Vietnam seems to have had little effect on policy. All might be fair in time of war, but Smith ought to have scouted the need for a permanent bureaucracy part of whose function is officially devoted to clandestine political manipulations abroad in time of "peace."



# A Look Back at CIA's Forerunner, the OSS

By Charles Howe

The American intelligence effort during World War II, as described here yesterday, was composed of a weird mixture of high society, assassination teams — and even pornography.

The efforts of the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency, were chronicled by R. Harris Smith, a former CIA intelligence analyst.

Smith spoke at a press conference to announce the publication of his book, "OSS — The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency."

## MIXTURE

Smith said the OSS, founded shortly before Pearl Harbor was bombed on Dec. 7, 1941, probably harbored the damndest combination of liberals and left and right-wing radicals the world has ever seen.

The mission of the OSS, commanded by General William Joseph Donovan, was espionage, sabotage and subversion of hostile governments.

At one time, Smith said, Donovan had on his payroll such luminaries as William Bundy, Henry Ringling North of circus fame, Arthur Goldberg — later U.S. ambassador to the United Nations — and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.

None of the above, Smith hastened to add, ever actually assassinated anyone.

Smith said he interviewed more than 200 former OSS operatives in researching the book and was given access to secret papers at the

Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

By no means a dedicated supporter of the CIA, Smith said that the seeds for this intelligence apparatus that tumbled the Bay of Pigs operation in Cuba were sown by the old OSS years ago.

During World War II, Smith said, members of the liberal intellectual community gladly signed on with the OSS.

Former operatives, Smith said, included Herbert Marcuse, political mentor of Angela Davis, and Ralph de Toledano, far-right columnist.

Even the gentle Julia Childs, who now has a cooking program on television, was enlisted as an intelligence records keeper in wartime. Chalking, Smith said.

Following World War II — after the OSS had engaged in everything from gun-running to demolitions work — the CIA simply began to do the same thing, Smith said.

## VICTIMS

The problem, he said, was that some of the CIA's victims were yesterday's allies.

The remnants of the OSS were absorbed into the newly formed CIA in 1947 and not many liberals survived the political purges of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy in the years that followed, Smith said.

Indeed, it seems certain that the person who hatched a plot to drive Hitler mad during World War II could be found in the silent and maligned ranks of today's CIA.

As Smith told it, OSS psychiatrists had a scheme that

if Adolf Hitler, because of his bizarre mental makeup, caught sight of a single piece of pornography, the effect might well drive him crazy.

Armed with this intelligence, other agents spent thousands of dollars to corner the market on German pornography — literally tons of it.

The plan, as Smith recounts it, was to drop the dirty stuff on Hitler's headquarters and then, presumably, to wait for the war to end as soon as Hitler went into psychosis.

The plan was aborted, however, when the Army Air Forces colonel who was

to have dropped the smutty stuff heard about it.

"He cursed the OSS maniacs and swore he would not risk the life of a single airman for such a crazy operation," Smith said.

STATINTL

R. HARRIS SMITH  
The author

STATINTL

August 1972

# How Business Bolsters Our Intelligence Defenses

From building eyes in the sky to advising Presidents, businessmen are deeply involved in an essential but hush-hush national activity

High over the Eurasian land mass, two Project 647 satellites (Made in U.S.A.) patrol unusual "dwelling" orbits, their delicate sensors watching for a missile launching in the Soviet Union or a nuclear explosion in China.

A propulsion engineer in a secure, windowless California office calculates the range of an Egyptian anti-  
shipping missile from data gathered by the Central Intelligence Agency. A computer analyst in Boston, his advice needed by the code-breaking National Security Agency, hops a plane to Washington. And a corporate executive answers the President's personal plea for some unpublish-  
ized counsel on how to reorganize the Defense Intelligence Agency.

American industry, a world leader in advanced technology, is deep into the complexities of modern intelligence work—and much quieter about it than a swinging James Bond.

The U.S. intelligence establishment, once comparatively simple, is now huge as well as highly sophisticated, costing the government some \$6 billion a year and directly employing 200,000 men and women.

One expert has estimated that 70 per cent of this money and manpower is inextricably involved with the science and technology that, in less than two decades, have revolutionized an essential national activity—essential despite the thaw in the Cold War.

The revolution began one December afternoon in 1954 when Trevor Gardner, a former California businessman who was the Air Force's research and development chief, picked up his Pentagon telephone to make a call at the CIA's request. The man he called was Clarence (Kelly) Johnson, Lockheed Aircraft Corp.'s chief designer, in Burbank, Calif. Nineteen months later, Mr. Johnson's ubiquitous U-2—designed, built and tested in an atmosphere of extreme secrecy—made its first spy flight for the CIA over the Soviet Union.

Today, the U-2 still flies reconnaissance missions over Cuba, potential Latin American trouble spots and the troubled deserts of the Middle East. Its intelligence "cover" was blown in 1960 when a Soviet missile knocked Francis Gary Powers from the sky over Sverdlovsk. But its cameras still rank among the world's best, it can slip over a target more easily than a satellite—and it remains an undisputed symbol of modern, technological espionage.

Ironically, Lockheed did almost as much to push the U-2 into the open—by creating superior spy craft, and therefore reducing the need for secrecy about it—as the Sverdlovsk marksmen did. By 1960, work was well along on a supersonic successor aircraft, the Lockheed SR-71, and on increasingly sophisticated spacecraft that keep an entire planet under observation.

Under the peculiar rules of the intelligence game, Lockheed can admit what everyone already knows—that the U-2 was and is a spy plane. However, it can only concede that the Air Force SR-71 has "strategic reconnaissance" as its mission. And the company cannot even discuss the fact that its Agena rockets have carried almost every American spy satellite launched in the past dozen years.

## The rocket's role

While the U-2 clearly marked the beginning of the new espionage, the rocket quickly proved a far more dramatic instrument of change.

Sputnik I, launched on Oct. 4, 1957, left no doubt that rocketry had altered man's destiny.

And the prying eye of the intelligence camera soon peered down from 100 miles in space, rather than 100,000 feet. Big names in the high-

Laboratories, Bell Telephone Laboratories, RCA and Philco-Ford, Itek Corp., Eastman Kodak Co., Perkin-Elmer Co., Aerojet-General Corp., TRW Inc.—as well as thousands of smaller suppliers.

Only when first cousins of clandestine devices developed for intelligence work show up in civilian life—in the camera system of the Lunar Orbiter, for example—can companies take oblique credit for remarkable technical achievements.

Industrialist John A. McCone, who succeeded aging spymaster Allen W. Dulles as Central Intelligence Agency director in 1961, and is now back in industry, is given much of the credit for harnessing industry and technology to the intelligence community's needs.

"Dulles had no background for this kind of thing," a top intelligence executive recalls. "McCone had headed the Atomic Energy Commission and been Under Secretary of the Air Force, and he fancied himself something of an engineer.

"He wasn't afraid of the technological game."

The simple communication link that Mr. Gardner used to order the U-2 from Mr. Johnson still operates.

"We can pick up the phone to a West Coast contractor and say, 'Go ahead,'" an intelligence official reports. "Research and development is different in this field than in the military services. We are just plain less bureaucratic.

"Contractors say it is a pleasure to deal with us because they can get decisions quickly. The security rules are hard to live with, but they are more than counterbalanced by the lack of complications."

The leading consumer of new intelligence technology, the CIA, initiates more than 50 per cent of the R&D projects it sponsors but depends on industry for many new ideas. Surprisingly, it and the other intelligence agencies also depend heavily on companies for analytical help. "We don't contract out 'current business' [the hottest new intelligence data] but we might ask someone to do a six-month exhaustive study, say, on the accuracy of an ICBM," one government intelligence official explains.

26 JUL 1972

## Books of The Times

*Wonderful Wizards of O.S.S.*

By ROGER JELLINEK

OSS. *The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency.* By R. Harris Smith. Illustrated. 458 Pages. University of California Press. \$10.95.

In 1941 a British Naval Intelligence officer named Ian Fleming recommended to Gen. William (Wild Bill) Donovan that he recruit as American intelligence officers men of "absolute discretion, sobriety, devotion to duty, languages, and wide experience." Donovan, a World War I hero and successful Wall Street lawyer, understood the fantasies of writers and Presidents, and in a memo to President Roosevelt promised an international secret service staffed by young officers who were "calculatingly reckless," with "disciplined daring" and trained for "aggressive action."

The Office of Strategic Services came to include such James Bonds as John Birch, Norman O. Brown, David K. E. Bruce, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, William Bundy, Michael Burke, Julia Child, Clark Clifford, John Kenneth Galbraith, John W. Gardner, Arthur J. Goldberg and Murray Gurfein. There were others—Sterling Hayden, August Heckscher, Roger O. Hilsman, Philip Horton, H. Stuart Hughes, Carl Kaysen, Clark M. MacGregor, Herbert Marcuse, Henry Ringling North, Serge Obolensky. And still others: John Oakes, Walt W. Rostow, Elmo Roper, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Paul Sweezy, Ralph de Toledano—to name just a few of the hundreds in this book by R. Harris Smith.

Mr. Smith, who was in the trade himself, resigning in 1968 after a "very brief, uneventful, and undistinguished association with the most misunderstood bureaucracy of the American Government," the Central Intelligence Agency, now lectures in political science at the University of California's Extension Division. "This history of America's first central intelligence agency" is "secret" because Mr. Smith was denied access to O.S.S. archives, and so had to rely on the existing literature supplemented by some 200 written and verbal recollections of O.S.S. alumni.

**Both Ends Against the Middle**

The book is densely packed with the bewildering variety of O.S.S. exploits in World War II: spying, sabotage, propaganda, military training missions, politicking and coordinating resistance groups against the Germans. "Casablanca" caught the spirit of the Byzantine plotting in French North Africa, with the O.S.S. trying to undermine the Vichy and German authorities, while various resistance groups in Italy, Yugoslavia, China and Greece, tried to use the O.S.S. for their own ends. O.S.S. agents played both ends against the middle in the virtual civil wars between conservatives and left-wing partisans. In one holy alliance worthy of Graham Greene, the O.S.S. gratefully accepted the contribution of the Italian politician, Alcide De Gasperi, teamed with Earl Brennan, American politician and diplomat (also friend of Mussolini) and the Canadian Mafia, and

later registered agent for the Haitian ex-lobby in Washington). They had volunteered to collect and pass on firsthand intelligence on strategic bombing targets in

Japan. Cardinal Montini is now Pope Paul VI.

O.S.S. agents had to compete as much with their allies as with their enemies. In France and Switzerland, where Allen Dulles operated, the British S.O.E. (Special Operations Executive) was especially grudging. In Germany itself, the O.S.S. lost out to more orthodox American military intelligence, though paradoxically they were strongly represented at Nuremberg, where General Donovan was himself a deputy prosecutor—at the same time that the head of the Nazi Secret Service, Gen. Reinhard Gehlen, was under O.S.S. protection in exchange for his intelligence network in Eastern Europe and Russia.

**Role in the Far East**

From present perspective the most (literally) intriguing story is that of the O.S.S. in China and Indochina. There were both pro-Communists and anti-Communists in the O.S.S., and most agents sympathized with Asian nationalists, so that the O.S.S. aided Thai partisans against the British and of course more famously, the Vietminh against the French in Laos and Vietnam (an O.S.S. medic saved Ho Chi Minh's life). Mr. Smith's retelling of the tragicomedy of Indochina after the Japanese surrender in 1945, with Vichy and Gaullist French, British, Chinese and the Vietminh jockeying for control, makes a fascinating setpiece.

The book ends with an account of the transformation of the O.S.S. into its "mirror image," the C.I.A. Mr. Smith's admiration for the O.S.S.'s wartime pragmatism, its "tradition of dissent" and its anticolonialism suggests his thesis: that the O.S.S./C.I.A. has been made the straw man of the radical and liberal left. In fact, he asserts, the C.I.A. has been the principal guardian of liberal values in the "intelligence community." He reminds us that the C.I.A. fought Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and he argues that the C.I.A.'s campaign to fund anti-Communist liberals successfully undermined international Communist organizations and disarmed the paranoid anti-Communism of the F.B.I. and others at home. He notes that C.I.A. liberals worked against Batista for Castro, who betrayed them, allowing the C.I.A. conservatives to plan the Bay of Pigs. Finally, he points to the evidence in the Pentagon Papers that the C.I.A. has been a critic of the Vietnam war from the beginning.

But the question remains whether the O.S.S. "tradition of dissent" is meaningful, whether it doesn't compromise liberals as much as aid them. Mr. Smith's book is full of ironic references to former O.S.S. agents now prominent in industry, business and finance. C.I.A. liberalism has not prevented a number of C.I.A.-fomented coups in favor of military regimes.

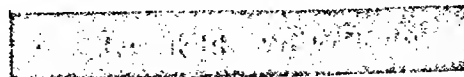
Even C.I.A. liberal criticism of the war in Vietnam seems to have had little effect on policy. All might be fair in time of war, but Mr. Smith ought to have scouted the need for a permanent bureaucracy part of whose function is officially devoted to clandestine political manipulations abroad in time of "peace."

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MLAW HEAD  
23 JULY 1972



## Suppose Hanoi Demanded Ransom?

Those who remember how Castro forced the United States to pay millions in ransom for the release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners might see some flaw in Sen. George McGovern's plan for gaining the freedom of American servicemen now held by North Vietnam.

While it is true that if we pull out of Southeast Asia North Vietnam should have no good reason to hold the prisoners, and, under normal conditions, one would expect to see them sent home.

But what if North Vietnam decides to hold the prisoners for ransom, demanding that the United States pay several billion dollars in indemnity for the extensive damage done by the wholesale bombing of that country?

What would be McGovern's answer to such a demand?

**WE HAVE HEARD** the suggestion that if the United States should pull out, then North Vietnam would be compelled by the force of world opinion to release the prisoners. But our actions in Southeast Asia have made us so unpopular in the rest of the world that it's doubtful whether we could warm up enough world opinion to unchill the hearts of Hanoi's tough leaders.

By a misguided notion that we could stop the spread of communism in every part of the world, we have got ourselves in a

mess that is going to be difficult to get out of. Every move Kennedy, Johnson or Nixon has made seemed to bog us down a little deeper in the jungles and rice paddies of an area of the world where we have no business.

Under our present commitments we seem destined to be involved in Southeast Asia for an indefinite time in the future, holding up the incapable government of South Vietnam and backing its equally incapable army. Had it not been for our Air Force and Navy, the Communist divisions would have overrun South Vietnam within a few weeks earlier this year and the war would be over by now.

**SHOULD HE WIN** the election in November, McGovern could find himself with a problem as great as the ones his three predecessors have made for themselves. Only McGovern's problem could be more frustrating, more demoralizing. For what would be his answer, should he withdraw all our armed forces from Southeast Asia within 90 days after inauguration, only to be told by Hanoi that it would not release the prisoners of war until billions in indemnities were paid?

A frustrated Kennedy, Johnson or Nixon could send in the Army, Marines, Air Force, the Navy and CIA. But what would McGovern send?

It might be a little late to send a dove.

# Watergate cover

STATINTL

By Tim Wheeler

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Betty Bagdikian, a Democratic Party staffworker, glared over her spectacles at the rifled desks, the gaping file drawers and the floor littered with the memos, letters and correspondence of the Democratic National Committee.

"Who would dream of such a thing?" she exclaimed. "It's unconstitutional, it's an invasion of privacy. There's a conspiracy law, you know."

She was reacting to the brazen attempt by five men to install spy devices in the plush Watergate offices of the Democratic Party in one of the most bizarre episodes since President Nixon took office. The five spies were caught redhanded by D.C. metropolitan police as they crouched behind an office partition in the inner office of Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien. They were carrying satchels of sophisticated eavesdropping equipment, cameras for micro-filming and pens filled with tear gas when apprehended at 2:30 a.m., Saturday, June 17.

When police pointed their pistols at them, the spies held up their hands. They were wearing surgical rubber gloves, and one of them declared, "Don't shoot!"

Since then, in a series of spectacular disclosures, the agents have been linked directly to the Committee to Re-elect the President, top aides in the White House, the Republican National Committee, the Central Intelligence Agency, the FBI, and counter-revolutionary Cuban exiles. The leader of the spy plot is credited with masterminding the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 in which the CIA attempted to overthrow the socialist revolution in Cuba.

Florette Lebow, a secretary, and Pat Johnson, editor of Democratic Party publications, showed me the fire-door jimmied by the agents when they broke into the offices. Incredibly, the agents used tape to keep the door from latching; this was visible to the Watergate guard as he made his hourly rounds. The guard mistakenly thought the Democrats themselves had taped the door and simply removed it. An hour later, when he returned, the guard noticed that the door had been retaped! He immediately telephoned the police.

The spies were especially interested in the Office of Youth affairs. They rifled through the files in this office before moving on to the Research Office. Finally, they jimmied the office door of Democratic Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, removed two acoustical tiles from the ceiling of his office but were caught before they had time to install listening devices.

The conspirators have been the subject of round-the-clock investigation by reporters seeking answers to endless questions about the operation. Some contend the bungling of the job indicates "amateurishness." But others say it was the result of overconfidence born of repeated success in similar plots.

"They must have been here before," declared Mrs. Johnson. "That is why they were so confident, so fearless, so brazen."

"It's scary," said Miss Lebow with a shudder.

White House Press Secretary Ron Ziegler pushed the "amateur" line when he characterized the break-in as a "third rate burglary attempt" unworthy of comment either by himself or the President.

Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Mont) hastened to reject charges that the Republican high command was behind the break-in. He said it was inconceivable that the Republicans could have hired such miserable incompetents to undertake the mission.

Another argument is that the Democratic Party has no secrets worth discovering by such a risky enterprise as breaking into their headquarters. The political cost of being caught in the act, the argument goes, far outweighs anything that could be found in O'Brien's inner office, which can be read "like an open book," according to some.

All of this speculation has one purpose: to throw the people off the trail, to dispel the outrage, to pin the episode on the nearest patsy. The Democratic Party has made crystal clear who they believe inspired the plot. Its suit seeking \$1,000,000 in damages for conspiracy to deny the civil rights of Democratic voters names the Committee To Re-elect the President as the guilty party.

This is tantamount to charging that the conspiracy was ordered by top circles of the Nixon Administration itself. It directly contradicts attempts by the Nixon Administration to pooh-pooh the

episode as an activity of the "lunatic fringe."

Predictably, GOP Chairman Robert Dole lashed back, accusing the Democrats of using the break-in for electioneering purposes.

But the facts in the case are incontrovertible. They point in one direction: toward the White House.

According to Ken W. Clawson, Deputy Director of Communications for the Nixon Administration, E. Howard Hunt was hired as a top consultant at the White House by Nixon's special counsel, Charles W. Colson. Hunt worked under Colson's command for 63 days in 1971 and another 24 days this year, as recently as March 29. Colson hired Hunt because of his "expertise" gained in years as a top Central Intelligence Agency spy.

About two weeks before the break-in, Hunt flew to Miami where he met with Bernard F. Barker, identified as the "leader" of the break-in at the time of his arrest at the Democratic headquarters. At this Miami meeting, Hunt handed Barker his business card with his suburban Maryland telephone number pencilled on the back and gave him "oral instructions to call him if he ever needed help," according to The New York Times.

Police tracked Hunt down because his name was written in Barker's address book, confiscated when he was arrested. Also in the address book were notations such as "W. House," and "W.H."

Hunt and Barker, a Cuban-born gusano, were top CIA operatives who carried out the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. This fact goes a long way towards exploding the argument that the Republican Party would never hire "bunglers" to do its dirty work. No operation was more stupidly conceived nor more criminally executed than the Bay of Pigs invasion, yet it enjoyed the full support of the White House.

Hunt, under the alias "Eduardo," was the CIA agent in top command of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Since the arrests, he has mysteriously disappeared.

Barker's role in the Bay of Pigs fiasco, according to Cuban exile sources, "was significant but more organizational than operational," a Washington Post article declared.

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**CIA raiders get expensive legal aid**

WASHINGTON — An array of famous and expensive legal talent has entered the case of the June 14 raid on the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate apartments here.

The five suspected raiders, three of whom remain in a local jail, face criminal prosecution in the District of Columbia on burglary charges, a possible Federal indictment for conspiracy and a \$1 million civil lawsuit entered by the Democratic Party against them and the Republican Party for allegedly violating the civil rights of Democratic candidates for office.

Electronic eavesdropping devices and microfilm photographing equipment were found on the suspects when they were arrested.

One of the defendants is Bernard L. Barker, a wealthy Cuban-born Miami realtor who played an important role in the 1951 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, organized by the Central Intelligence Agency. His defense lawyer is Henry B. Rothblatt, a well-known New York lawyer.

In 1969, Mr. Rothblatt defended Col. Robert B. Rheault and five other officers of the United States Army's Special Forces on charges that they had murdered a Vietnamese double agent.

Gerald Alch is representing James W. McCord Jr., who was the security chief for both the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-elect the President until the June raid, and who earlier was the CIA's internal security head. Alch is a partner in the Boston law firm headed by F. Lee Bailey, who defended Capt. Ernest Medina, a defendant in the My Lai massacre case.

The attorney for E. Howard Hunt, Jr., is William O. Pittman, former assistant U.S. attorney who won the conviction of James R. Hoffa, former president of the Teamsters Union on fraud charges. Hunt, not charged with an offense in the case, was linked to the raid when his name was found in the address books of two of the raiders.

Hunt, a White House consultant, was one of the top coordinators of the Bay of Pigs invasion. He retired from the CIA in 1970.

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## Expensive Line-Up of Legal Talent Enters Case of Raid on Democratic Office

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 9—An array of famous and expensive legal talent has entered the case of the June 17 raid on the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate complex here.

The five suspected raiders, three of whom remain in a local jail, face criminal prosecution in the District of Columbia on burglary charges, a possible Federal indictment for conspiracy and a \$1-million civil lawsuit entered by the Democratic party against them and the Republican party for allegedly violating the civil rights of Democratic candidates for office.

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ing equipment were found on the suspects when they were arrested.

One of the defendants is Bernard L. Barker, a wealthy, Cuban-born Miami realtor who played an important role in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba organized by the Central Intelligence Agency. His defense lawyer is Henry B. Rothblatt, a well-known New York criminal lawyer who often appears as counsel in major controversial cases.

### Defended Army Officers

In 1969, Mr. Rothblatt, a tall, thin, dapper man with a pencil moustache, defended Col. Robert B. Rhoault and five other officers of the United States Army's Special Forces on charges that they had

murdered a Vietnamese double agent. As part of his defense Mr. Rothblatt charged that the C.I.A. had lied about its role in the murder.

Last year, Mr. Rothblatt helped to win acquittal in a court-martial for Col. Oren K. Henderson on charges that he had covered up evidence and made false statements in the investigation of the 1968 massacre of civilians at My Lai in South Vietnam.

Mr. Rothblatt will defend Mr. Barker in the two criminal and the civil actions.

Gerald Alch is representing James W. McCord Jr., who was the security chief for both the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-elect the President in the June raid, and who earlier

had been the C.I.A.'s internal security head. Mr. Alch is a partner in the Boston law firm headed by F. Lee Bailey, one of the nation's most noted criminal lawyers.

Mr. Alch will defend Mr. McCord, who is free on bail, in the criminal cases, with Mr. Bailey supervising the case.

But Mr. Rothblatt, who co-authored five basic books on criminal law with Mr. Bailey, is understood to have agreed to represent Mr. McCord in the civil suit.

### 3 Other Defendants

Mr. Rothblatt is also expected to assume the defense of Eugenio R. Martinez, Virgilio L. Gonzales and Frank Fiorino, the three other defendants, all of whom have past C.I.A. ties.

Mr. McCord and Mr. Martinez are the only defendants in the case who were freed on bail by the District of Columbia Superior Court. Last Friday, the District Court of Appeals declined to overrule Superior Judge James Belson on his demand that the three other defendants remain imprisoned until they disclose in open court the source from which they would raise bail money.

Their lawyers were reported to be considering an appeal to the Chief Justice of the United States, Warren E. Burger, on the ground that refusal of bail violates the defendants' rights under the Eighth Amendment.

The attorney for E. Howard Hunt Jr., a mystery figure in the case, is William O. Bittman, a noted Washington crim-

inal lawyer. He was the assistant United States attorney who at the age of 32 won the conviction of James R. Hoffa, the former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, on fraud charges. Three years later he successfully prosecuted Robert G. Baker, one-time Senate aide, for tax evasion, theft and conspiracy to defraud the government.

Mr. Hunt, who was one of the top coordinators of the Bay of Pigs invasion and who retired from the C.I.A. in 1970 has not been charged with any offense.

But he was linked with the Watergate raid when his name was found in the address book of Mr. McCord at the time of their arrest.

STATINTL

# Democrat Headquarters Bugged 'for Long Time'

A right-wing group of anti-Castro Cubans financed the break-in at Democratic national party headquarters here, according to sources close to the investigation.

The sources said that the group had bugging devices inside the headquarters "for a long time."

The Miami based group reportedly is well financed and prepared to assist the five suspects arrested inside party headquarters on June 17, hoping to avoid a trial and testimony that could reveal additional details of the break-in and the extent of support for the effort.

## Continuing Effort Cited

The sources said the anti-Castro group financed the break-in at the Watergate complex as part of a continuing effort to keep Democrats under surveillance because of fear that leading candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination are pro-Castro.

The five suspects — all of whom had ties to the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 — were arrested inside the Democratic National Committee's offices. It was at least the second time that agents of the anti-Castro group had been inside the Democratic headquarters, sources said.

Bugging devices initially were placed in the Democratic suite but had been malfunctioning. The June 17 break-in, the sources said, was to replace or repair the faulty electronic equipment.

Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota was said to be of particular concern to the Cuban group. But the anti-Castroites also were said to feel that all potential Democratic nominees — except dark horse Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash. — were pro-Castro.

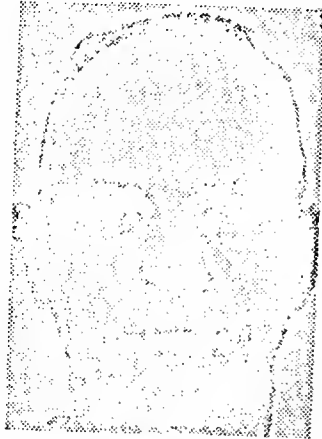
## McCord to Grand Jury

James W. McCord Jr., one of the five suspects, was bound over to a Superior Court grand jury. McCord, a CIA man for 19 years until retiring

in 1970 to start his own security firm, is the former security chief for both the Republican National Committee and President Nixon's re-election committee.

McCord was ordered bound over to the grand jury yesterday by Superior Court Judge Harry T. Alexander.

A U.S. District Court grand jury is considering the case separately and FBI agents re-



JAMES McCORD JR.

portedly have been conducting a nationwide search for E. Howard Hunt, former CIA man and a White House consultant, for questioning in the case.

The New York Times reported today that Hunt reportedly telephoned a close friend last Friday and asked him to enlist "White House friends," in obtaining an attorney. Hunt was quoted as saying he would "emerge" after obtaining a satisfactory lawyer. He has been missing since the Watergate arrests.

The Times today also said that government officials have reported the FBI has called off its search for Hunt because Hunt has obtained a lawyer, who has told federal officials that Hunt would be available.

Despite reports that Hunt might have left the country, the friend who reported receiving the call from him said he thought the person had been made from within the United States.

In testimony before Alexan-



BERNARD L. BARKER

der yesterday, it was disclosed that McCord used the alias "Edward Warren" when he was arrested inside the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate along with the four other men charged in the case.

D.C. Police Sgt. Paul W. Leeper said McCord used the name Edward Warren when he was arrested. Officials have reported that McCord also used the name Edward Martin.

Officials previously reported that at least six men—including the four men arrested with McCord — were registered at the Watergate Hotel May 26-29, and that their bill was paid by a man identified only as "E. Warren."

Police records show that an attempt was made on May 28 to unscrew a lock on a door at Democratic headquarters, located in the Watergate Office Building adjacent to the Hotel.

## List Both Jobs

Officials said McCord and the other four were again staying at the Watergate Hotel at the time of their arrest.

McCord was fired from both of his security positions with the Republicans two days after the arrests. The others ar-

rested are Bernard L. Barker, a Miami real estate broker; Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith; Frank Sturgis, operator of a marine supply firm in Miami, and Eugenio Martinez, who worked for Barker.

All five have been charged with second degree burglary. The federal grand jury apparently is considering possible violations of conspiracy statutes and laws against electronic bugging.

Gerald Alch, a partner in F. Lee Bailey's law firm who is representing McCord, said yesterday that McCord was called before the federal grand jury Wednesday. Alch commented only that "there were no surprises."

## Nixon Aide Mentioned

In its report, The Times said that in an interview, a close friend of Hunt who asked not to be identified told of his Friday telephone call. The Times reported that one person Hunt suggested might be called at the White House was John Wesley Dean 3rd, special counsel to the President. According to the newspaper, the friend did not make the call.

Hunt's telephone number and name were found in the address books of two of the five men arrested in the break. Hunt resigned from a senior post with the CIA in 1970.

Hunt has worked for the White House as a part-time consultant during the past two years, taking the post on recommendation of Charles W. Colson, a counsel to the President. Colson has denied any knowledge of the Democratic break-in.

The Justice Department last week confirmed that a walkie-talkie and an unloaded pistol were found in a drawer in Hunt's desk in the Executive Office Building. Two walkie-talkies were found with the five suspects in the Watergate, but Hunt's radio has not been linked to the other two.

# Hunt's Wife Ridicules Link to Raid

STATINTI

By DANA BULLEN  
Star Staff Writer

The wife of E. Howard Hunt Jr., a missing figure in the Democratic National Committee break-in, has labeled as "ridiculous" any idea that her husband had been involved in the case.

"I don't believe it," Dorothy Hunt said of press reports linking Hunt, a former CIA agent and recent White House consultant, to the burglary at the party headquarters. "The whole thing seems to me to be ridiculous."

"I feel that the papers are just putting words in people's mouths," she said yesterday.

But, Mrs. Hunt said, she was out of the country when the five suspects were apprehended June 17 at the Watergate office building. "I know absolutely nothing about it," she said.

Hunt was linked to the break-in after police found his name and home telephone number in the address books of two of the men arrested at Democratic headquarters.

Although it has been asserted that Hunt, reportedly the subject of an FBI search, had left the country, possibly going to Europe, his wife denied this. "He is not out of the country," she said.

Asked why Hunt had not come forward to explain or rebut any connection he might have to the case, Mrs. Hunt said that her husband would speak to the press "when he is ready to speak."

She said that Hunt left their home in Potomac, Md., after the case erupted into headlines because "he did not want the children to face . . . harassment" from reporters seeking to clarify his involvement.

## FBI Withholds Comment

Mrs. Hunt said that her husband "obviously does not want to" talk about the case at this time and would not reveal his whereabouts. At some later time, she said she is sure he will make a statement.

Hunt's wife said no warrant or subpoena has been issued for her husband and that he has been in contact with the

FBI. It was not clear whether this referred to earlier FBI questioning after the break-in.

According to one report, Hunt at that time refused to answer questions about the case. The FBI would not comment when asked whether it presently is searching for Hunt in connection with the affair.

Meanwhile, the president of the public relations firm where Hunt worked as a writer here before the Watergate break-in acknowledge that the firm some years ago did a "public service" publicity job for an organization later said to have had CIA backing.

Robert F. Bennett, head of Robert R. Mullen & Co., said that the firm was hired for a publicity campaign for a group called "Radio Free Cuba" shortly after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

According to Bennett, who was not with the company then, the campaign apparently was linked to efforts to broadcast information to the Cubans. While the "Radio Free Cuba" organization was not a

"CIA front," Bennett said, the CIA "helped a little" with its efforts.

"As far as I know, (except for this) the company has done no work for the CIA," Bennett said.

## Planning Role Indicated

Hunt, believed to have been a key planner of the Bay of Pigs invasion, was suspended by the firm after his disappearance following the burglary at Democratic party headquarters.

The possibility of a link between the Mullen firm and CIA surfaced late last week when attorney Douglas Caddy, who helped obtain legal counsel for the suspects apprehended at the Watergate, reportedly told the grand jury he had had intimations of such a connection.

Bennett said the "Radio Free Cuba" accounts was "the only thing I can think of that Doug Caddy may have had in mind." He said that Caddy then an employee of General Foods Corp., had worked at the Mullen Company for a year two or three years ago as liaison for General Foods.

In another development, Bennett said that Mrs. Hunt picked up some of Hunt's personal belongings on Monday from Hunt's desk at the Mullen firm.

Bennett said that there was nothing in the desk bearing any relation to the Watergate incident and that Hunt's business papers already had been given to the grand jury investigating the case.





## Marquis Childs

# Security Set For Convention

WHEN Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien of the Democratic National Committee went to Miami Beach to take a thorough look at convention arrangements he was given a detailed briefing on security. He was to admit later that it all seemed a bit superfluous in light of his long experience with conventions which, however turbulent, never seemed to threaten life and limb.

Then came the famous break-in-bugging incident at Democratic headquarters here and O'Brien understood the very real need for the security precautions being taken at Miami Beach. It will be the most security-conscious national convention ever held, with routines bound to cause friction and resentment.

Farical though it seemed at first, the bugging episode was serious enough in itself. Here was this insidious snooping business carried out by five men with connections if not with the White House, as has been repeatedly denied, then with the Committee to Re-elect President Nixon. Invading the privacy of a political organization with the tools of the snooping trade hardly comes under the heading of a free society.

WHAT GIVES the episode a more ominous look and ties it in with the tight security at the convention is the connection of the men caught in the bugging act with the Cuban exile movement in Florida. Three of the five men were born in Cuba. Bernard L. Barker as a CIA operative had a role in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion. He is said to have been a conduit for money siphoned to the invaders.

According to reports in the Miami newspapers, Barker is said to have tried to obtain from the architect, Leonard Glasser, the plans of the convention hall, including details of the air-conditioning ducts and the catwalks. The bugging was that this was for bug-

ging purposes. Yet why try to bug a political convention with radio and television constantly listening in?

While the bulk of the more than 200,000 Cuban exiles in and around Miami are law-abiding citizens bent on trying to earn a living in a new land, there is a hard core of passionate anti-Communist, anti-Castro plotters constantly seeking ways to bring Fidel down. Their bitterness over President John F. Kennedy's failure to order air strikes to save the invaders trapped on the beaches knew no bounds. They never cease to lobby for support from the government for various schemes to cut down Castro's strength.

Sen. George McGovern and certain of his backers have suggested that it was time to restudy American policy toward Cuba. If the President could make an agreement with Moscow, 7,000 miles away, then it should be possible to get together with Castro looking to a relaxation of the measures that have cut off all relations with the island only 90 miles from the Florida coast. Castro is just now in the Soviet Union, presumably seeking to renegotiate the agreements costing the Russians well over \$300 million a year that keep Cuba afloat.

IN THE EYES of the Cuban rebels any suggestion of peace with Castro is treason. They will fight it with every means possible. The nomination of a Democratic candidate for President looking, however far in the future, for normalization of relations with the dictator, as relations are on the way to normalization with China, is a deep affront.

O'Brien will run an orderly and secure convention if anyone can. He is a pro and an extremely able pro. Whatever the ardent young McGovernites may think, it is pros like O'Brien who have kept the wheels turning over the years. He was

the manager of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's campaign at the time when the senator was struck down in Los Angeles by an assassin's bullet.

In the course of barnstorming through the South, McGovern made a gratuitous slap at O'Brien. He indicated his intention of replacing him after the convention, although on another occasion he said he wanted him to stay. All along O'Brien has said that he intends to leave when he has finished his stint at Miami Beach. Replacing O'Brien, who has carried on through the dreary and difficult days of deficits, will not be easy. If McGovern means to dispense with all the pros he will add to the handicaps he already suffers.

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3 JUL 1972

## CAPERS:

## Operation Watergate

They wore surgical gloves and carried walkie-talkies, a pair of cameras and electronic bugging devices. They picked a lock on a basement door, left the latch taped open and made their way up a rear stairwell of a building in Washington's elegant Watergate complex to the sixth floor. There the five men jimmied a door to the Democratic National Committee headquarters, slipped inside and began rifling the files, stuffing some documents in boxes, dumping others out on the floor. They made just one mistake: when the night watchman removed the tape on the downstairs door, one of the intruders put it back—and when the watchman checked the door again, he promptly called the police. Within minutes, three cops from the Capital's plain-clothes "mod" squad burst in on the intruders with guns drawn. "Don't shoot," one of the five shouted. "You've got us."

They had indeed—and with the arrests, Washington had one of the juiciest political scandals in memory. Four of the five intruders turned out to have been either agents or operatives for the Central Intelligence Agency. And one of the men, James W. McCord, 53, of Rockville, Md., happened to be both security coordinator for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and a security consultant for the Republican National Committee. To add to the embarrassment of the Administration, both committees immediately announced that McCord had resigned some months ago—only to find out that he was indeed working for them right up to the time of his arrest.

**Integrity:** At first, the White House simply tried to ignore the affair. The Justice Department announced that the FBI had entered the case, and that a grand jury was ready to receive evidence. High-ranking Republicans vigorously denied that the party had any hand in the raid. "There is no place in our campaign or in the electoral process for this type of activity," declared former Attorney General John Mitchell, now the head of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. "We will not permit or condone it." The Democrats howled nonetheless—and not without a note of glee. "This incident raises the ugliest questions about the integrity of the political process that I have encountered in a quarter of a century," proclaimed Democratic National Committee chairman Lawrence O'Brien, who promptly filed a \$1 million damage suit against the GOP campaign committee. "There is certainly a clear line to the Committee to Re-Elect the President—and there is developing a clear line to the White House."

The lines to the CIA were clear enough. One of the group, a Cuban named Virgilio R. Gonzales, 45, appears

to have been just a simple Miami locksmith recruited for the job. But a second Cuban, Miami realtor Eugenio Martinez, had worked for the agency smuggling refugees out of Castro's Cuba. A third, Frank Fiorini—who also went by the name Frank Sturgis and several dozen known aliases—was a U.S. marine turned soldier-of-fortune who once smuggled guns for Castro's rebel army, then turned against the dictator and joined the CIA. Bernard Barker, 55, who employed Martinez, was a wealthy, Cuban-born U.S. citizen, well known in Washington GOP circles. Barker served, under the code name "Macho," as one of the key links between the CIA and Cuban exiles training in Guatemala for the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. McCord himself, before he retired two years ago to set up his own security agency, spent nineteen years in the CIA security force, safeguarding agency installations.

**'Mission Impossible':** All except McCord, it developed, checked into the plush Watergate Hotel, next to the office building, the day before the raid. Authorities picking through their quarters later found what looked like a make-up room for TV's "Mission Impossible." Among other things, police confiscated a kit full of burglary tools, two pairs of gray work overalls, a wig and a radio transceiver. But the most intriguing items seized were a pair of address books listing the name Everett Howard Hunt—with the notation beside it, "W.H." and "W. House."

Until recently, Hunt worked as a \$100-a-day consultant for White House troubleshooter Charles W. Colson. Colson hired Hunt during the Pentagon papers furor last summer, probably to look for information leaks. And Hunt brought a wealth of experience to the task. For 21 years, the suave, Ivy League New Yorker was a CIA field man in Latin America, Spain and the Far East, churning out no fewer than 45 science fiction, spy and detective novels in his spare time. Significantly, Hunt served as Barker's boss in the preparations for the Bay of Pigs invasion. When he retired two years ago, the career spy went to work for Robert R. Mullen & Co., a Washington-based public-relations firm whose close ties to Republican Party leaders gave it ready access to the White House. Informed by phone that his name had been linked to the case, Hunt reportedly blurted, "Good God!", hung up—and then dropped out of sight.

Still, his name alone was enough to suggest a link to the White House, and the Administration reacted with suitable horror. Colson, Hunt's old patron, heard the news and roared, "Guilt by association!" Presidential press secretary Ron Ziegler first declined to comment on "a third-rate burglary attempt," then upgraded it to "second-rate" and said the Administration "absolutely did not condone it. Finally, at his own first news conference in three months, President Nixon said, "The White

House has had no involvement whatsoever in this particular incident."

But that declaration hardly put an end to the speculation. Theories about what the five intruders were doing—and who ordered it done—swept through Washington like Hurricane Agnes. Democratic insiders, skeptical of the FBI's investigation ("Hell, they're investigating their own people"), claimed that the raid was a GOP-inspired fishing expedition, perhaps with the additional purpose of replacing a malfunctioning bug that had been installed earlier. A more measured version suggested that someone—Republicans or others—believed the Democrats were in possession of an extremely damaging document—a hot new chapter in the ITT affair, perhaps—and sent the five men in to get it. But authorities were still not discounting the possibility that the raid may have been the brainchild of anti-Castro Cuban extremists who feared that the Democrats were planning to ease relations with Cuba.

At the weekend, authorities were looking into possible links between this raid and two earlier burglaries of the Democratic headquarters—one of which took place while the same four Cubans were registered at Watergate Hotel. And the Committee for the Re-election put some private eyes out conducting an investigation of its own. As one worried White House staffer put it, "The only way we can prove we're not guilty is to find out who is guilty."

STATINTL

WASHINGTON POST

2 JUL 1972

# FBI Seeks Man Linked To 'Bug' Case

By Carl Bernstein  
and Jim Mann

Washington Post Staff Writers

Federal authorities reported yesterday that a force of 150 FBI agents has begun a nationwide search for Howard E. Hunt, the former White House consultant whose name has been linked to the suspects charged in the alleged attempt to bug the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee.

Hunt is being sought for questioning by the federal grand jury that is investigating the break-in and alleged bugging incident, according to federal sources close to the investigation.

Spokesmen for the FBI and the office of the United States Attorney here refused yesterday to say whether a subpoena has been issued to compel Hunt to appear before the grand jury.

However, law enforcement officials said it would be unlikely for the FBI to undertake a major search for Hunt without a subpoena, particularly in view of reports that he refused to cooperate with FBI agents when they attempted to interview him about 10 days ago.

Hunt, whose name was found in the personal phone books of two of the five suspects arrested June 17 inside Democratic headquarters at The Watergate, 2600 Virginia Ave. NW, worked for the Central Intelligence Agency from 1949 to 1970. He was hired as a \$100-a-day White House consultant on the recommendation of Charles W. Colson, a behind-the-scenes political strategist who is special counsel to President Nixon.

On Friday, the Justice Department said that the contents of Hunt's desk in the Executive Office Building—including an unloaded pistol and a walkie-talkie had been turned over to the FBI.

The same day, Hunt's name was publicly linked to the grand jury's investigation

the first time. In open court, federal prosecutors revealed that Douglas Caddy, the attorney originally retained by the five suspects, had refused to testify about his relationship with Hunt.

Caddy was also asked whether Robert R. Mullen & Co.—the Washington public relations firm where he and Hunt shared an office in 1970—had ever undertaken work for the Central Intelligence Agency.

According to Caddy's own attorney, the following exchange took place in front of the grand jury late last week:

Prosecutor: Did Robert L. Mullen Associates ever do any work for the CIA?

Caddy: I have no personal knowledge of that.

Prosecutor: Do you have any other knowledge?

Caddy: I received intimations that this might be true.

Prosecutor: From whom did you receive intimations?

At that point in the questioning, Caddy invoked an attorney-client privilege and refused to testify.

In Friday's open-court hearing before Chief Judge John J. Sirica of U.S. District Court, however, Caddy was ordered to testify in any subsequent appearances before the grand jury. Immediately after the hearing, at which Sirica said the questions asked of the attorney were fair, Caddy was again summoned before the grand jury.

The Mullen public relations firm, which has offices at 1700 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, is headed by Robert F. Bennett, the son of conservative Republican Sen. Wallace Bennett of Utah.

Robert Bennett confirmed last week that he was the principal organizer of dummy campaign committees to collect money for the re-election of President Nixon. He disbanded the committees, he said, "When we became front page news and a lot of people got scared."

Robert R. Mullen, the founder of the public relations firm, was "1968 chairman of public relations for Nixon-Agnew, according to a biography he supplied "Who's Who."

Mullen and Bennett are also the principal stockholders of an affiliated firm called Interprogress, which was founded in 1971 to foster trade with Communist nations.

Bennett could not be reached for comment yesterday about Caddy's assertion that he had "intimations" that the Mullen firm might be involved with the CIA.

Hunt was suspended from his job as a writer with Bennett's firm when he failed to report to work after his name appeared in press reports about the Democratic Committee break-in.

"Caddy and Hunt were good friends and the relationship continued after Caddy left here," Bennett told a reporter recently.

Caddy, 34, was one of the cofounders of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom and since has been active in conservative Republican activities, according to associates.

In the early 1960s, he reportedly was chairman of Youth for Goldwater and—during the same period—wrote for Human Events, the conservative journal of opinion.

According to Caddy, he became involved in the Democratic National Committee case when he received a pre-dawn phone call from the wife of one of the men arrested in the break-in, Bernard L. Barker.

Mrs. Barker, whose husband served as an aide to the CIA operative who coordinated the Bay of Pigs Invasion, said she had been instructed to call Caddy if she did not hear from her husband by 3 a.m. on June 17—the date of the break-in.

In addition to Barker, the other suspects are: James W. McCord, a retired CIA security expert who was security coordinator for the Committee to Re-elect the President; Frank A. Sturgis, an American adventurer with extensive CIA contacts; Virgilio F. Gonzalez, a Miami locksmith; and Eugenio Martinez, a salesman for Barker's Miami real estate firm.

# Cubans in Miami: A Dream Dies Hard

STATINTL

By Peter Jay

Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI—When 26-year-old Teresa Torres stepped out of a small airplane over Homestead Airport south of here last Sunday to make her second parachute jump, she wasn't simply doing it for sport.

She was an exile from Fidel Castro's Cuba, where her parents live and her brother is said to be imprisoned, and after her parachute failed to open and she fell to her death a major Cuban exile group here announced that she had been making the jump as part of their military training program.

It has been 11 years since the doomed amphibious assault at the Bay of Pigs, and as the time has passed Miami's more than 200,000 Cubans have grown richer and more comfortable in their exile. But the dream of someday toppling Castro and returning home in triumph dies hard.

There are at least a score of organizations here with the avowed purpose of restoring non-communist rule to Cuba. Some of them have only one or two members, and others are little more than social clubs like the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association, whose middle-aged members—about 500—generally confine their militancy to talk.

But others are still capable of action: demonstrations, small-scale bombings, even an occasional hit-and-run raid against outposts on the Cuban coast—operations that must evade both the Cuban navy and the U.S. Coast Guard.

One organization, Alpha 66, says it has "thousands" of cells within Cuba whose members are ready to arise at the propitious moment and seize the country from Castro.

American law enforcement officials here, both local and federal, do not regard Miami's Cuban under-

ground as a serious threat to the peace—either domestic or international. But with Cuban demonstrations promised for both of this summer's national political conventions in Miami Beach, there has been a re-awakening of official interest in the activities of the exile community.

Also, the June 17 arrest of five men—three of them from Miami and all with a background in intelligence, anti-Castro activity or both while allegedly attempting to bug Democratic headquarters in Washington has focused new attention on the exiles.

It is the conventional wisdom in Miami that despite the plottings of fringe groups most Cuban refugees are happy here and probably wouldn't return to Cuba to stay even if they could. Cuban family income, it is pointed out, is relatively high—over \$3,000 a year, compared to \$9,200 for the area as a whole and under \$6,000 for blacks.

Officials here also maintain that there is an important generation gap in the Cuban community, and that young Cubans who have lived in the United States since they were small children do not share their parents' fervent anti-Castro sentiments or nostalgia for their homeland.

This may or may not be true. In the drive-in restaurants of Miami's thoroughly Latin "Little Havana" section, it is easy to find Cuban teenagers lounging in their cars who will say they have no interest at all in Cuba or their parents' politics.

But listen to 27-year-old Ella Alvarado, the Miami coordinator of an anti-Castro youth movement called Abdala (after a patriotic poem by the Cuban poet Jose Marti):

"It's hard for high school students to have from political ideas. But when they get older, they start to look

at things in a new way. The Miami Herald says all Cubans want to stay here, but that's not true. We want to free our country."

Abdala described by an American student of Latin affairs as "a hotshot group of young intellectuals, and tough." Its members hint they are conducting military training, but most of their activities have been demonstrations and protests.

If either the Republican or Democratic conventions move to call for establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Castro's Cuba, Miss Alvarado says, "We will react in a very strong way."

The Abdala members are defensively sensitive to charges that they represent a rightist position. "We don't consider ourselves to be right-wing," said Ruben Lopez, 33. "We consider Castro to be reactionary. Don't lump us with the John Birch Society."

Other groups that form part of what might loosely be called the Cuban underground here are much less fussy about ideological appearances.

Andres Nazario Sargen is a leathery former tobacco farmer who fought against the regime of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba and for the past 12 years has been in Miami plotting to overthrow Castro.

Sargen heads an organization called Alpha 66 that claims a membership of 10,000 in the U.S. and other Caribbean nations—although non-members in the Cuban community here say that estimate is grossly inflated.

"Our task is not to overthrow Castro from the outside, but to organize within," says Sargen. "We are now in the final stage."

Alpha 66, perhaps more than the other exile organizations, emphasizes military operations against Cuba.

The last such raid of any size occurred two years ago, when a small force landed, went inland and shot up a few provincial jails.

"That's the kind of thing that renews interest," said an American here, who follows exile activities closely. "After that raid, Alpha was swamped by thousands of people wanting to join and give money. Now it's slowed down again."

Alpha 66 has stayed studiously away from American politics. "All we ask of the United States is that they not try and prevent us from liberating our country," Sargen says. But other groups have been drawn inexorably into taking stands on American issues.

Perhaps the largest Cuban political organization here—relative strengths are hard to estimate because no group will provide realistic membership figures—is something called the Executive Liberation Committee.

A sort of umbrella group incorporating various small factions, the committee is preparing demonstrations at the conventions. It has also supported President Nixon's mining of the North Vietnamese coast and opposed his moves toward better relations with China and the Soviet Union—in contrast, for example, to Abdala, whose members say they support any steps toward world peace.

The committee's leader is Tomas Cruz, a 41-year-old Cuban Negro who served in the army under Batista and later participated in the Bay of Pigs invasion. He was captured, held for nearly two years, and eventually released.

Cruz says he, like Alpha 66's Sargen, emphasizes military training and recruitment of young Cubans. And it was for the committee that Teresa Torres entered the sport-parachuting class

1 JULY 1972

STATINTL

# China Overture Has Dangerous Fallout in Latin America

By PAUL BETHEL

STATINTL

Those Americans who are upset by President Nixon's overtures to Red China will be positively appalled to see what effect these overtures are having among nations of the Western Hemisphere. Almost completely overlooked by our press, the interposition of Red China into the affairs of Latin America bodes ill for future tranquillity in our strategic back yard.

Some argue that apparent U.S.-Red China rapprochement will somehow exert leverage on the Kremlin to lessen its hold on Cuba and diminish Soviet interest in Latin America. With the U.S. bent on a course of friendship with Mao, this argument runs, the Russians will begin to make their own overtures of friendship to us by "relieving tensions" caused by increasing Soviet diplomatic and trade thrusts into Latin America.

The opposite appears to be the case. What we can expect is an increase in tensions as the Red Chinese move into this hemisphere to challenge Russia in its power struggle with the U.S.

Faced with a Red Chinese challenge, it seems logical that the Russians will not only try to hold onto what they have but will increase their efforts to obtain more client states. The total effect is hardly one to be desired, and perhaps not even considered by White House and State Department "globalists" when they set out to exploit Russian-Chinese differences. What they have done is set the stage in Latin America for increasing Red China-Soviet Union clashes, thus adding to the process of disintegration of the U.S. position.

The effect of the announcement last July by President Nixon that he would visit Red China was electric. Almost immediately, Latin American countries began to reconsider their position toward Nationalist China and commenced talks with Mao's representatives. Up until then, interest in Red China was minimal, even non-existent. Since then, it is apparent that the Red Chinese have made extensive gains diplomatically and commercially.

The new state of China is turning over its bauxite mines to the Red Chinese for exploitation (after hav-

ing seized them from Canada). Prime Minister Forbes Burnham says that Peking will purchase more than \$500,000 worth from Guyana through a permanent seven-member Chinese trade mission now lodged in the country. The mission also signed a \$15-million trade agreement covering a five-year period, and any day now Peking will have its embassy in the capital of Georgetown.

There is a general feeling in Latin America that they should rush to exploit a market of 800 million Chinese, and it is generally held that President Nixon's overtures are based on a promising trade future for the U.S. Actually, the possibilities of healthy trade relations are remote, since most of what Latin America produces is of low priority to Mao's state-directed economy. Nevertheless, the Red Chinese are exploiting this sentiment and doing so for what obviously are political reasons.

The payoff for Mao has been handsome. Two years ago the Red Chinese had embassies only in Havana and Santiago, Chile. Today (and this has happened just since President Nixon's July 1971 announcement of his impending journey to Peking), five Latin American countries have opened diplomatic relations and three more are committed to do so in the immediate future.

Costa Rica, El Salvador, Brazil, Ecuador and Colombia have sent official and semi-official trade missions to Peking and may open both trade and diplomatic relations within the year. Indeed, the unseemly rush by Latin American nations to cozy up to Red China is even more accelerated than their acceptance of Soviet embassies during the 1960s.

The tactic of the Chinese is not appreciably different from those employed by the Russians. Peru opened relations with Peking last November, swallowing as bait the promise that it would receive a \$42-million, interest-free loan, repayable in goods from Peru. Marxist Chile accepted a similar loan for \$65 million, while other Latin states strain to obtain the same treatment.

There is hard evidence that, given the instability of the Cuban situation, President Nixon's visit, the Red Chinese intend to use it against us.

With their embassy established in Lima, Peking's rulers immediately announced support for the 200-mile maritime limit claimed by several Latin American countries. The U.S. holds to the more conventional claim of a 12-mile fishing limit, a source of friction as well as revenue (millions raked in by Ecuador and Peru in fines from U.S. tuna vessels).

Though there is no embassy in Panama, the bid to lodge one there is apparent with Peking's endorsement of Panama's sovereignty over the U.S.-controlled Canal Zone. The Chinese have also announced support for the denuclearization of Latin America.

For years the State Department (often flying in the face of hard facts to the contrary) blamed "Maoists" for much of the terrorism in Latin America. The record is filled with references in the past to "pro-Peking" groups operating in such far-flung places as Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. Castro was for years said by State Department spokesmen to be following "the more militant Maoist line," in contrast to what was loudly proclaimed to be the "conventional" Soviet approach toward normalization of trade and diplomatic relations.

First Mexico and now Bolivia demonstrate that the Soviets are no less "militant" in their subversive efforts than the "Maoists" were said to be some years back. In these two countries the Soviet embassies were found not only to have backed guerrilla operations but to have sent cadres to North Korea for military training and political indoctrination. One can only wonder what will happen with Maoists now happily ensconced in their own embassies in Latin America.

One thing seems certain. If one accepts the argument that the Soviet-Red China dispute is real, logic says that this dispute will now extend to the Western Hemisphere.

The Russians can hardly be happy at the prospect of Peking moving into what the Communist world has for years accepted as an area of Soviet interest and exploitation. Moreover, the Kremlin is concerned about the balance of Latin America from the standpoint of big power politics to stand

## Political Intrigue

Former White House consultant Howard E. Hunt, Jr., implicated in the bugging of the Democratic National Committee, is a retired CIA employee. He is also the author, under the alias David St. John, of such thrillers as *On Hazardous Duty* and *The Towers of Silence*. In the latter epic, the hero is placed in a funerary tower in Bombay. The slow-winged vultures circle closer to their victim, ready to rend flesh from bone. Nothing like that is likely to happen to Hunt in this latest incident. When asked about his role, why two of the detainees had his phone number, his reply to a reporter was: "Good God!" After a pause, he went on: "In view that the matter is under adjudication I have no comment." He's had no comment either for the FBI agents investigating the case. With both the White House and the Committee to Reelect Nixon apparently involved, Hunt may have no more serious problem than developing a new alias.

From events so far, it would appear that Charles Colson, Nixon's aide for dirty tricks, used Hunt as a consultant. And over at the Committee to Reelect the President, regular employee James W. McCord, also a retired CIA employee, was the alleged leader of the five-man team (the other four were Cuban freedom fighters, also with CIA connections) that conducted the surreptitious entry of the Democrats' Watergate Hotel suite, apparently to photograph documents and plant (or remove) audio surveillance devices. (John and Martha Mitchell are also among the Watergate's famous tenants.)

The White House, initially at least, tried to ignore the incident as "a third rate burglar attempt," which Ron Ziegler said was unworthy of further comment. The Democrats are suing the Republicans for invasion of privacy and taking it all very seriously, which they have every right to do.

With the apparatus of Justice in the hands of Richard Kleindienst, what kind of FBI investigation can one expect?



STATINTL

# Nixon aides watched Feds' search

By PATRICK COLLINS

Several Presidential aides stood by and watched as federal authorities removed a pistol, diagrams of the Democratic National Headquarters, and an electronic eaves dropping device from Howard E. Hunt's desk in the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House, The Washington Daily News learned today.

The seizure occurred about a week ago when federal officials discovered Mr. Hunt had a desk located in the office suite of Charles Colson, special counsel to the President.

## DENIAL

However, the Justice Department yesterday denied that any plans of Democratic headquarters or a bug had been found in the desk. A spokesman said a .25 caliber Colt and half of a two-way intercom system, "like a walkie-talkie," were found.

Justice spokesman Jack W. Hushen said, "About 95 per cent of that story (yesterday's News report) is incorrect."

The News' sources today insisted that their information was accurate.

The sources told the Daily News that in the presence of several White House aides the locked desk was opened and from the drawers officials removed:

- A fully loaded Spanish made automatic pistol.
- Floor plans of the Democratic offices in the Watergate Building.
- A partially dismantled "bug" similar to the ones confiscated from the five men arrested in the burglary of the Democratic Headquarters, June 17.

Also taken from Mr. Hunt's desk was a manual on the use and operation of the electronic surveillance equipment.

Sources said the contents of the desk were placed in an envelope by the federal authorities, who left the office soon after the search.

Yesterday, a spokesman for the White House called the News to say that Mr. Hunt did not have a desk in Mr. Colson's office, but had an office of his own on the third floor of the Old Executive Office Building.

But other sources said that Mr. Hunt's desk was in a part of a suite of offices assigned to Mr. Colson.

An assistant U.S. attorney said yesterday that the federal authorities did not need a search warrant since they have a right to search abandoned property left on federal pro-

perty. "That doesn't mean a warrant wasn't used," the attorney said.

In an unusual court action yesterday, Douglas Caddy, the first attorney for the bugging suspects, was ordered by Judge John J. Sirica to testify before a grand jury on his connection with Mr. Hunt.

During the hearing, Asst. U.S. Atty. Earl J. Silbert said that Mr. Caddy had been called to testify Thursday in the investigation of possible "unlawful interception of wire communications" and "unlawful possession of wire devices."

Mr. Caddy then refused to discuss his ties with Mr. Hunt, claiming a lawyer-client relationship.

After Judge Sirica's ruling Mr. Caddy again went before the grand jury.

Mr. Hunt vanished after he was first linked to the bugging plot when police found his name and phone number in the address books of two of the burglary suspects.

Before he disappeared, the FBI did talk to Mr. Hunt, but agents reported that he ducked most of their questions and "shed no light on the investigation."

Mr. Hunt, 54, a CIA agent from 1949 to 1970 was a writer for the public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen whose offices are diagonally across the street from the White House. He served as a part time consultant to the President on de-classification of the Pentagon Papers and on narcotics law enforcement. He was last seen at the White House, sources said, on March 29.

## BAY OF PIGS

As a CIA agent Mr. Hunt was involved in the planning for the Bay of Pigs invasion where he became closely associated with one of the burglary suspects Bernard Barker, then assigned to coordinate exiled Cubans for the invasion.

Mr. Barker and four other men, all wearing surgical gloves were captured by police in the inner offices of the Democratic National Headquarters, on the sixth floor of the Watergate Office Building, 2600 Virginia-av nw.

Police say the men were there to remove "dead bugs" hidden in the offices earlier.

Besides Mr. Barker, police have charged: James McCord, an ex FBI agent and CIA employe, then chief security advisor for the GOP; Frank Fiorini, a mercenary who fought for Castro and later defected to lead anti Castro groups in Miami; Eugenio Martinez, a wealthy Miami real estate broker and Virgilio Gonzalez, a locksmith associated with anti Castro campaigns.

# Jury Probes Lawyer in 'Bug' Case

By Bob Woodward  
and Jim Mann

Washington Post Staff Writers

A former White House consultant and a lawyer who has represented the five suspects in the bugging attempt at the Democratic National Headquarters were linked yesterday for the first time to grand jury and FBI investigations of the incident.

During an extraordinary court proceeding yesterday, it was revealed that the attorney, Douglas Caddy, has been questioned at least twice about the possible involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency in the case.

And Caddy was ordered to testify before a federal grand jury about his relationship with Howard Hunt, the one-time White House consultant.

Also yesterday, the Justice Department said that the contents of Hunt's desk in the old Executive Office Building included a walkie talkie and an unloaded pistol and have been turned over to the FBI.

In the court proceeding, U.S. District Court Chief Judge John J. Sirica rejected Caddy's contention that he did not have to testify about Hunt before the grand jury because he was Hunt's attorney.

Accordingly, Caddy was again brought before the grand jury, which is now hearing evidence in the break-in and alleged bugging attempt.

In making the disclosure about the gun and walkie-talkie found in Hunt's desk, Jack Hushen, chief spokesman for Justice Department, denied a report that plans of the Democrats' headquarters and an electronic listening device were also found there.

But, the Justice Department noted, the gun and walkie-talkie found were turned over to the FBI voluntarily by the White House staff.

It could not be learned if the walkie-talkie operated on the same special frequencies that were assigned for the walkie-talkies taken from the five suspects arrested inside the Democrats' headquarters.

Hunt was first connected to the bugging incident at Democratic headquarters last week

after his name and home telephone number were found in address books taken from two of the five suspects.

Hunt, who has since dropped from sight, was hired as a \$100-a-day White House consultant on the recommendation of the President's special counsel, Charles W. Colson, a behind-the-scenes political strategist.

Yesterday, Colson refused to discuss the matter but a secretary in his office said: "It's ridiculous. It's ridiculous, the whole thing."

Caddy has said he first became involved in the case when he received a predawn call from the wife of Bernard L. Barker, one of the five suspects.

According to Caddy, Mrs. Barker was instructed to call Caddy if she did not hear from her husband by 3 a.m. on June 17—the date of the break-in.

During 1969 and 1970, Caddy and Hunt shared an office at Robert R. Mullen & Co., a Washington public relations firm where Hunt worked as a writer until last week when he was suspended.

"Caddy and Hunt were good friends and the relationship continued after Caddy left here," Robert F. Bennett, president of the Mullen firm, told a reporter last week.

Caddy, 34, was one of the co-founders of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom and has since been active in conservative Republican activities, according to associates.

Hunt, a CIA employee from 1949 to 1970, is also the author of some 42 novels, including a recent mystery that is set in Blues Alley, a Georgetown jazz club that he patronizes, according to his publisher.

In the court hearing yesterday, Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert told the judge that Caddy was first called by the grand jury on Thursday.

When asked about Hunt, Caddy invoked the attorney-client privilege, refused to testify and then asked to leave the grand jury room and consult with his own attorneys, Silbert said.

Silbert told the judge that the grand jury is investigating for possible federal charges of unlawful interception of wire communications and the

possession of wire devices", as well as for local burglary charges.

It was the first public disclosure of specific federal charges under consideration. Silbert did not say who might be subject to those charges.

He told Sirica that Caddy's conduct was "specious, dilatory and . . . an obstruction of justice."

Urban A. Lester, one of three attorneys representing Caddy yesterday, told the judge that Caddy was refusing to testify because "Once you answer one question, that leads to another question."

Lester said he had met personally with U.S. Attorney Harold H. Titus Jr. to request that Caddy be provided in advance with a set of written questions he would be asked by the grand jury. The purpose, Lester said, was "to save the grand jury's time and this court's time." Titus rejected the request, Lester said.

He also asked Sirica for permission to go over the questions that might be asked of Caddy in advance in the judge's chambers, but Sirica refused.

Lester told the judge that the questioning of Caddy had gone far beyond his relationship with Hunt. He said Caddy had been asked whether he had worked for the CIA. Caddy answered that he had not, Lester said.

At the end of the hearing, the judge said, "I don't think I'm going to make any exception in this case," and ordered Caddy to testify before the grand jury. He said the questions put to Caddy were fair ones.

Since the arrest at 2:30 a.m. June 17 inside the sixth floor suite of the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate, 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, the case has taken the following turns:

- One of the suspects, James W. McCord Jr., a former FBI and CIA agent, was identified as the security chief to the Committee for the Re Election of the President and a security consultant to the Republican National Committee. McCord, now free on bond, was fired from both posts.

- The Democratic National Committee filed a \$1 million civil suit against the Nixon reelection committee and the five suspects—charging the

incident squarely into the Presidential campaign.

- Metropolitan police and the FBI say they are looking for four more persons in connection with the incident.

- A diagram of the Miami Beach headquarters of Democratic presidential candidate Sen. George S. McGovern was among the items found in the suspects' belongings.

- Suspect Bernard L. Barker, a Miami real estate agent and CIA operative in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, attempted last year to obtain blueprints of the air conditioning ducts in the Miami Beach convention hall, according to a Miami architect.

- The Nixon committee reported that two relatively important campaign strategy memos were missing from its offices across from the White House, and charged that an unnamed Democratic Presidential candidate has planted two workers in the Nixon campaign committee. Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, the Nixon campaign chairman, is conducting an independent investigation into the entire matter.

- Suspect Frank A. Sturgis and Eugenio R. Martinez both attempted to secure housing in Miami recently for thousands of Young Republicans to attend their party's national convention in August. The Young Republicans have denied any knowledge of these efforts.

- Martinez, a Miami locksmith, was released from jail yesterday after posting a bond of \$4,000 cash. Sturgis, Barker and Virgilio Gonzalez remain in D.C. Jail.

STATINTL

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JUN 30 1972

Todd Simon

## What Makes Presidents Popular

Late in March the Gallup Poll showed President Nixon's approval rating was 53%. In words, that meant "so-so."

On March 30 the North Vietnamese started their big offensive. Their military hero, Gen. Giap, said this was to be the drive to final victory over the Saigon government. Hanoi's army seemed invincible.

On May 8 President Nixon went on TV. He announced that he had ordered mines sown around North Vietnam's ports, that U.S. air and naval units should cut all land and sea routes to choke off arms being delivered to Hanoi's attacking troops.

Hanoi and the harbor city of Haiphong were bombed. There was some speculation among smart foreign affairs people that Russian boss Leonid I. Brezhnev might cancel the coming summit meeting. He might tell Mr. Nixon to stay home.

BUT WHILE American airmen dropped smarter and smarter bombs on more and more North Vietnamese targets nearer and nearer China, Mr. Nixon coolly went ahead on his planned trip to Moscow. He got there May 22 and promptly went to work signing agreements — the arms limit treaty on May 26.

From May 26 to May 29 the Gallup Poll went out asking its standard question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mr. Nixon is handling his job as President?"

Guess what the score was. Mr. Nixon hit his highest point in popularity in almost two years. He was up to 61% approval.

Now, all the advanced thinkers — especially the reading and writing types who keep inhaling and exhaling each other's ideas until all the oxygen is gone out of

them — would have been surprised if they had noticed this upturn in the Nixon rating.

This upturn proves something about America and presidential politics. Down below the public debates there is a deep, strong current of nationalism. Today it is unpopular even to talk about such matters. In some quarters the word "patriotism" is considered obscene.

But—Mr. Nixon scored 61% when the advanced thinkers thought he must be blowing the whole presidential ball game.

STRANGELY, presidential popularity rises when any president faces any kind of international crisis and takes strong action to meet that crisis.

Burns Roper, the polling expert, did a fine analysis of this odd phenomenon in January of 1969.

A president can win a higher approval score even with a bad play on the international stage. The Bay of Pigs fiasco brought John F. Kennedy's approval score up to 83%, though Fidel Castro made the Cuban invaders, the CIA, the United States and the White House look foolish.

Roper found that "Domestic events tend to hurt the president whatever he does about them. He is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't." But on the foreign scene the public "clearly wants strong, decisive action from the president."

Certainly Mr. Nixon's aggressive action did not assure him of re-election this November. There are months of campaigning, comparisons and new events between now and then which will alter that 61% score. And a 61% approval score does not match electoral vote patterns.

Still, 61% is higher than President Kennedy rated just before he was assassinated in November 1963, as his chances of re-election were being assessed by the advanced thinkers mentioned above.



SIMON

STATINTL

# Gun, bug, map of Democratic HQ found in desk of White House aide

By PATRICK COLLINS

Federal authorities have seized a fully loaded Spanish-made automatic pistol, diagrams of the Democratic National Committee headquarters and an electronic eavesdropping device from Howard E. Hunt's desk in the Old Executive Office Building next door to the White House, The Washington Daily News learned today.

Sources say the federal officers searched Mr. Hunt's desk, located in the office suite of Charles Colson, special counsel to President Nixon. The found floor plans of the Democratic offices in the Watergate building and what was described as a "partially dismantled bug" similar to the ones taken from five men breaking in the Democratic headquarters, June 17.

Mr. Hunt was first linked to the bugging plot when lawmen discovered his name and phone number in the address books of two of the burglary suspects. Police said that next to his name in one of the books was the notation "W. House," and in the other book Mr. Hunt's name was followed by the inscription "W.H."

After this discovery, the FBI quizzed Mr. Hunt but agents reported that he avoided most of their questions and "shed no light on the investigation."

That was the last communication police are known to have had with Mr. Hunt who broke contacts with his friends and employer here and "disappeared" after he became publically connected with the burglary suspects.

Mr. Hunt, 54, a writer for the public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen whose offices are diagonally across the street from the White House, had been working as a special consultant to the President on the de-classification of the Pentagon Papers and on narcotics law enforcement. He was last reported at the White House on March 29.

Tho he had a desk in Mr. Colson's office suite, White House sources said that Mr. Hunt often worked for other officials in the Executive building.

Mr. Colson, described as a behind-the-scenes man for the President, yesterday refused to answer any phone calls concerning the search of Mr. Hunt's desk or the bugging of the Democratic offices.

The two men met in 1966 at the Brown University Club where Mr. Colson served as president and Mr. Hunt as vice president. Mr. Colson, a White House spokesman said, recommended Mr. Hunt for the consulting job at the White House.

Mr. Hunt, a CIA agent from 1949 to 1970 was hired by the Mullen firm two years ago with endorsements from CIA director Richard

## Another link?

Police are actively investigating a burglary of a Federal Reserve office, which some investigators feel may be related to the bugging of the Democratic National Committee.

On May 5, the Federal Reserve officer, located on the eighth floor of the Watergate Office Building, were broken into, police said. They said that five locked file cabinets containing plans were jimmied open.

A spokesman for the office said that nothing appeared to be missing and that the papers in the file would not be of any value to someone who might be contemplating the robbery of a Federal Reserve Bank.

In another development yesterday, sources

told The Washington Daily News that the names of former Sen. George Smathers and Rep. Dante Fascell, D-Fla., have been placed on the visiting list of one of the suspects charged with the burglary.

Without their knowledge, Frank Fiorini, added the names of both politician to his visiting list, which would allow them to come and talk to Mr. Fiorini.

But both Sen. Smathers and Rep. Fascell deny ever knowing Mr. Fiorini or ever trying to contact him. "I wouldn't recognize the guy if he walked in the door and stood right in front of my face," Sen. Smathers said.

Helms and conservative columnist William F. Buckley.

Five days after the burglary the Mullen Co. "suspended" Mr. Hunt. A spokesman said yesterday that Mr. Hunt had made one long distance call to the office since that time, but "he made it a point not to tell us where he was."

As a CIA agent Mr. Hunt was involved in the planning for the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion where he worked closely with one of the burglary suspects, Bernard Barker, then assigned to coordinate exiled Cubans for the invasion.

Earlier this month, officials say, Mr. Hunt traveled to Miami where he met with Mr. Barker.

Long after the Bay of Pigs and his work with the CIA, sources said Mr. Hunt continued to support the anti-Castro Cubans exiled in Miami.

Mr. Hunt, author of 42 novels, is listed in Who's Who as a former writer for Life magazine and a contributor to political journals. He owns a \$200,000 estate in the prestigious Potomac area of Montgomery County.

Meanwhile the FBI and local police continue to assemble evidence for the grand jury investigation of the burglary in which the five men, all wearing surgical gloves, were cornered by police in the inner offices of the Democratic headquarters on the sixth floor of the Watergate Office Building at 2600 Virginia av nw.

is evidence that the men were in the offices to remove dead bugs replaced earlier in the Democratic offices.

Besides Mr. Barker, police have charged James McCord, an ex-FBI agent and CIA employee who was chief of security for the GO and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President; Frank Fiorini, a soldier of fortune who fought for Castro and later defected to lead anti-Castro groups in Miami; Eugenio Martinez a wealthy Miami real estate broker and Virgilio Gonzalez, a locksmith associate with anti-Castro groups.

Nick Thimmesch

# Did G. O. P. Need Supersecurity?

WASHINGTON—From the capital which gave you Daniel Ellsberg, the Pentagon Papers, and the stolen and Xeroxed thoughts of Henry Kissinger, we now present the case of "Who Is That Chief Security Man for the G. O. P., and Why Is He Charged with Breaking Into Democratic National Headquarters?"

He is James Walter McCord Jr., 53, a quiet family man and churchgoing gent who worked for the CIA for 19 years, retiring to start his own security agency. McCord and four associates who look like the remnants of a Bay of Pigs invasion force were arrested inside Larry O'Brien's sanctuary, the Democratic National Committee offices in the posh Watergate building complex here.

They were equipped with rubber gloves, electronic bugging devices, photographic gear, tear gas pens, and obviously were not on O'Brien's premises to be inspired by Democratic campaign literature.

Why they were there might be spelled out in their federal court trial or in the \$1 million civil case filed by O'Brien where he charged the Committee to Reelect the President with invasion of privacy and violating the civil rights of Democrats.

## Holds Contract with G. O. P.

What really bugs O'Brien (no pun intended) is that McCord was on the reelection committee's payroll, and had a contract with the Republican National Committee as well to perform security services.

Many retired specialists in police or security work do establish private security firms. McCord has an excellent reputation at the CIA, and kind words on his behalf were even passed on to the Republicans by an active official in the White House Secret Service. So, if the Republicans wanted to hire one of the best hands in the cloak-and-dagger business, signing on McCord, as they did last fall, made sense.

But what were they getting when they hired McCord? They were getting a man, by Campaign Director John Mitchell's own admission, who has "a number of business clients and interests and we have no knowledge of these relationships."

They also got a man whose CIA background included bugging, tapping and entering, planting electronic eavesdropping devices, photographing docu-

ments, jimmying locks and covering his tracks like a cat burglar.

In fact, McCord supervised the installation of TV monitors, door-lock buzzers at Nixon headquarters and the inspection of offices for eavesdropping devices and phone taps. Campaign officials explain that threats of assassinations, bombings, and violence, the pilfering of memos, and the placing of spies on the staff by "some other candidate" make it necessary to have a man with McCord's skills around.

Moreover, Mitchell declares the reelection committee, while not authorizing or condoning the actions charged to McCord, "is not legally, morally or ethically accountable for actions taken without its knowledge and beyond the scope of its control."

## Williams to Lead Attack

Maybe so, but Edward Bennett Williams, the celebrated criminal lawyer the Democrats retained for their civil suit, will seek to prove that McCord was acting within the scope of his employment when police nabbed him.

What kind of mentality is it at Republican headquarters which decides that cloak-and-dagger men must be employed for security purposes? If John Mitchell's most brilliant memos are purloined by disloyal employees, so what? The lives and property of Republican campaign workers could be just as well protected by a conventional security agency without enlisting a specialist with McCord's capabilities and other clients.

The Watergate break-in looks more and more like a job performed for a right-wing anti-Castro group, but this is small solace to embarrassed Nixon campaign officials.

Naturally, O'Brien grabs on to this astonishing episode for political gain, and makes all sorts of outlandish charges such as the one that there is "a developing clear line to the White House" in the case.

Humor is blessed relief in a messy episode like this one. But why do Republican campaign chiefs indulge in CIA mentality? Politics is a rough game, but one where professional acrobats of espionage like McCord aren't needed. The Republicans got themselves the best in the cloak-and-dagger business, but look at what else they got.

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# White House linked to raid on Dem center

By CONRAD KOMOROWSKI

WASHINGTON, June 26—Participants in the June 17 raid on national Democratic party headquarters here had direct links with the White House, Republican National Committee, Central Intelligence Agency and fascistic organizations of Cubans living in the U.S.

Disclosures have linked an organization of veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba with the White House and the raid on the Democratic headquarters.

The tentacles can be glimpsed of a long-term conspiracy to use terrorist gangs and individuals against "left-wing causes" in the U.S.

The raid on Democratic party headquarters—not at all a "left-wing" organization—shows how far this fascistic activity has gone.

Ties with the fascistic elements in the military reserve through the White House can be discerned.

## Trail of CIA

The trail of the CIA is visible at all stages of the operations of these gangs. Members of the Ex-Combatientes Cubanos de Fort Jackson are reported to have met with "American friends" on "direct action to combat what they viewed as left-wing causes in the U.S.," according to Tad Szulc in the New York Times June 22.

The blundered attempt to bug Democratic party headquarters and to photograph files has revealed a festering cancer in the White House.

When Nixon moved into the White House he brought with him the baggage of the days when he introduced the first concentration camp bill in the history of Congress and helped create the period of McCarthyism.

## McCord's links

James W. McCord, who was held on \$30,000 bond after his arrest last Saturday, was at that time under contract as security coordinator to the Committee for Reelection of President Nixon headed by former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and of the Republican National Committee.

McCord was also a member of a 15-man unit of the Office of Emergency Management and

preparedness, which is a part of the Executive Office of the President. Its job is witchhunting, the hunting out of dissenters and so-called "subversives" and planning of measures to deal with them.

The Cubans, who were recruited for subversive activities against Cuba, including the CIA-organized invasion, have been working with the United States Military Reserve unit, which operates under the Office of Emergency Plans and Preparedness in the White House.

## Other direct links

These are not the only direct links. The name of E. Howard Hunt, Jr., was found in the address books of two of the participants in Saturday's raid. Hunt is a former CIA agent, who worked for it from 1949 to 1970. He was an associate of "Frank Bender" in the organization of the Bay of Pigs invasion, and has maintained his connections with former Cubans. Hunt was a consultant at the White House in 1971 and in 1972 until at least March.

Two of the participants in the raid are connected with Ameritas, which is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the All-State Investment Fund, S.A., incorporated in Panama. Persons familiar with the revelations of CIA "fronts," through which funds are channeled and activity conducted, believe this setup has the same foul smell.

At his Thursday press conference, Nixon did not denounce the raid but confined his statement to: "This kind of activity ... has no place whatever in our electoral process or in our government process."

The fact is that the connections of the participants in the raid with the White House, etc., show that "this kind of activity" has been going on for a long time, although it should not. The history of surreptitious activity by

governmental circles, both Democratic and Republican, as in the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the CIA activities in Laos and Cambodia, and the role of secret conspiracy in the Indochina war show that Nixon's statement is untrue.

STATINTL



STATINTL

# An Air of Mystery Surrounds Suspect

## Cuban Native Dropped Hints of High Connections, Friends Say

By Peter Jay

Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, June 26—Bernard L. Barker, who was arrested nine days ago with four other men in the Washington offices of the Democratic National Committee, liked to sound mysterious, according to people who know him.

He had been involved in the abortive 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, and, acquaintances say, he was given to dropping veiled hints that he is well-connected in U.S. intelligence circles and that interesting things were afoot.

Like many of Miami's more than 200,000 exiles, he is known as a political conservative and a strong anti-Communist. He supported President Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese harbors, and had urged exile groups to oppose war protesters at this summer's two national political conventions here.

Of the five suspects arrested in connection with the attempted bugging of the Watergate, three (including Barker), were born in Cuba. All have a background in intelligence, anti-Castro activity or both. Four of the five, including Barker, are in D.C. jail pending release on bond.

Except perhaps for James W. McCord Jr., a veteran of 19 years with the CIA and, at the time of his arrest in the Democratic offices in Watergate, chief of security services for the Committee for the Re-election of the President, Barker is the man who has attracted the most attention.

Despite his Anglo-Saxon name and appearance, his American father, service in the U.S. Army as an officer in World War II in the European theater and his residence in Miami, Barker is a Cuban. He was born in Havana 55 years ago, served with the secret police of the dictator Fulgencio Batista before Castro came to power, and associates almost entirely with Cubans in Miami.

"Someone said to me once

that for a Yanqui, Barker spoke beautiful Spanish," recalls a Cuban journalist here. "I had to tell them he was as much a Latin as we are."

There are various stories about Barker's clandestine activities in circulation here, but many of them seem to trace back to the man himself. A number of Cubans, noticing this, dismiss the Watergate caper as a quixotic effort by an aging braggard to recapture the excitement of his espionage days and to win the acclaim of the exile community.

"Barker? A big talker," said a businessman in the La Havana Vieja Shopping Center here, where Barker's small real estate office—Barker Associates—is located. "But don't use my name."

In the Bay of Pigs operation, Barker's code name is said to have been "Macho"—a nickname he still uses, 11 years later. The word simply means "male," but it has stronger connections: the equivalent nickname in English would be "stud"—an unusual, rather adolescent sobriquet for a 55-year-old.

Barker's role in the Bay of Pigs invasion, exile sources say, was significant—but more organizational than operational. He was said to be close to Manuel Artime, who commanded the landing force, and to have been a major conduit for Central Intelligence Agency funds.

His association with the CIA is believed to have lasted at least through 1964, when commanders were being trained in Nicaragua for anti-Castro harassment raids.

If Barker has met Howard E. Hunt, the mysterious raider-spy-White House consultant who dropped from sight after a reporter told him his name has been found in notebooks carried by the suspects in the Watergate bugging, it probably would have been through the CIA.

According to a Miami architect, Barker often mentioned that he had a "fantastic connection in Washington. . . . He said his name

was Howard Hunt," said the architect, Leonard Glasser.

It has not been established that Barker and Hunt were in communication or that—according to one unconfirmed report—Hunt came to Miami and met with Barker about three weeks ago. (As recently as Sunday, FBI sources could not confirm that Hunt was in Miami.)

In Miami, Barker has frequently been involved in anti-Castro or other anti-Communist activity, most recently by organizing a motoreade of Cubans supporting President Nixon's decision to mine the North Vietnamese harbors. But he appears to be neither influential nor popular in the major exile organizations.

His business career is hard to chart. Barker Associates, which he opened last year after getting his real estate license, has been involved in a few big transactions—but only a few.

And these seem to have been due to Barker's friendship with Miguel (Mike) Suarez, an ambitious and highly political lawyer who once ran for mayor of Miami as a Republican (he came in a poor fifth) and is the attorney for Barker's firm.

Ameritas, the organization that police first said was a shadowy anti-Castro group to which the Watergate five belonged, turned out to be a real estate corporation headed by Suarez. Suarez says the use of the name and stationery by Barker and the others when they registered at the Watergate

Hotel was unknown to him and unauthorized.

Barker lives 50 blocks west of downtown Miami, in a predominantly Cuban section.

It is a neighborhood of small square bungalows, parched lawns, and wilted palm trees that cast little shade. As in working-class neighborhoods in other cities, there are pick-up trucks with campers and American flag decals, on-board boats on trailers, small children on tricycles. It looks comfortable, clean and decent—but by no means affluent.

Barker's neighbors, like other Cubans here, say they still don't know what to think of the case. They have read in the newspapers of an attempt by Barker to get the architect's plan of the Miami convention center, where the Democrats will meet in two weeks; that reminded one friend, at least, of Barker's remark about "doing something about the convention."

But what? And also why? Those are the questions the neighbors keep asking, for which neither the newspapers nor the police nor the politicians on either side have yet to offer an answer.

STATINTL

26 JUN 1972

# Motive Is Big Mystery In Raid on Democrats

By WALTER RUGABER  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 25 — Moving through the basement after midnight, the guard found strips of tape across the latches of two doors leading to the underground garage.

It was an altogether fit beginning for a first-rate mystery — the raid on the Democratic National Committee headquarters.

In the eight days since, the White House and the Republican party have been embarrassed, the Democrats have sensed a big election-year issue and a major Federal investigation has begun.

The mystery has involved Republican officials, agents or former agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, White House aides and bewildering assortments of anti-Castro Cubans.

## Guard Not Alarmed

There has been talk of telephone taps, spy cameras and stolen files; of obscure corporations and large international financial transactions; of unsolved raids on chancery offices and on influential Washington law firms.

The guard, Frank Wills, a tall, 24-year-old bachelor who earned \$80 a week patrolling one of the office buildings in the Watergate complex for General Security Services, Inc., was not greatly alarmed when he found the tape.

The high-priced hotel rooms, prestigious offices and elegant condominium apartments within the Watergate development had been favorite targets of Washington's burglars and sneak thieves for several years.

Along with three present or former Cabinet officers and various other Republican leaders, the tenants included the Democratic National Committee. Its offices had been entered at least twice within the last six weeks.

But Mr. Wills assumed that the office building's maintenance men had immobilized the latches. He tore off the strips of tape, allowing the two doors to lock, and returned to his post in the lobby.

Ten minutes later, acting on what he now calls a "hunch," he returned to the basement. The latches were newly taped. So were two others, on a lower level, that had been unobstructed only minutes before.

"Somebody was taping the doors faster than I was taking it off," Mr. Mills said in an interview later. "I called the police." His alarm was logged at the central station at 1:52 A.M. on Saturday, June 17.

It took less than 48 hours for the authorities to clamp a fairly tight lid on things. Much of the information that emerged afterward, even on the most pedestrian points, was unofficial or leaked by unnamed sources.

And none of it established motive. Washington went on a speculative binge, but even those running the investigation were said to be confused and uncertain. The available facts offered many possible interpretations.

## More Tape Found

First to reach the Watergate were plainclothes members of the Second District Tactical Squad. They went first to the eighth and top floor, where tape was found on a stairway door. Nothing else was amiss, however.

Working their way down, they found more tape on the sixth floor. With guns drawn, they entered the darkened offices of the Democratic National Committee. Crouched there were five unarmed men, who surrendered quietly.

"They didn't admit what they were doing there," said John Barret, one of the plainclothes men who handcuffed the five and lined them up against a wall. "They were very polite, but they wouldn't talk."

Presumably, there was plenty to talk about—the taped latches, for example.

For one thing, taping the doors was a dead giveaway. Ordinarily, burglars use wooden match sticks. Also, why did anyone bother with the door on the eighth floor?

Furthermore, once the tampering had been discovered, it was risky in the extreme to repeat it. Who did it? And why were two separate basement entrances taped the second time?

Why, in fact, were any? All the doors were closed, and the inside, and once entrance to the building had been

gained, an intruder could have left without keys and without setting off an alarm.

## Too Many Men

Five men were found in the Democratic offices, which struck those informed in such matters as three or four too many.

The five men were charged with burglary and led off to the District of Columbia jail, where they all gave false names to the booking officer. After a routine fingerprint check, they were identified as follows:

Bernard L. Barker, 55 years old, a native of Havana who fled the Fidel Castro regime and became an American citizen. He is president of Barker Associates, a Miami real estate concern.

James Walter McCord Jr., 53, a native of Texas. He is now president of McCord Associates, Inc. of suburban Rockville, Md., a private security agency.

Frank Sturgis, 48, who lost his citizenship for fighting in the Castro army but regained it later. He has changed his name from Frank Fiorini but is still known under both names. He works at the Hampton Roads Salvage Company, Miami.

Eugenio R. Martinez, 51, a man with \$7,199 in his savings account and who works as a notary public and as a licensed real estate operator. He now works for Mr. Barker's agency and is said to earn \$1,000 a month.

Virgilio R. Gonzalez, 45, a locksmith at the Missing Link Key Shop, Miami. He is reported to have been a house painter and a barber in Cuba, which he fled after Mr. Castro's takeover in 1959.

All except Mr. McCord left Miami Friday afternoon, apparently on Eastern Airlines Flight 190, which arrived at Washington National Airport at 3:59 P.M. Mr. Barker used his American Express credit card to rent a car at that time.

The four men checked into two rooms—214 and 314—at the Watergate Hotel. They are understood to have dined that evening in the hotel restaurant. The hotel connects with the office building through the underground garage.

What Police Seized  
The police collected what the five men had with them at the

time of their arrest and obtained warrants to search the two hotel rooms and the rented automobile. An inventory included:

Two 35-mm. cameras equipped with close-up lens attachments, about 40 rolls of unexposed 35-mm. film, one roll of film from a Minox "spy" camera and a high intensity lamp—all useful in copying documents.

Two or three microphones and transmitters. Two ceiling panels had been removed in an office adjacent to that of the party chairman, Lawrence P. O'Brien, and it was theorized that the equipment was being installed, replaced or removed.

An assortment of what were described as lock picks and burglary tools, two walkie-talkie radios, several cans and pen-like canisters of Chemical Mace and rubber surgical gloves, which all five men had been wearing.

Nearly \$6,000 in cash. The money, found in the possession of the five and in the two hotel rooms, included some \$5,300 in \$100 bills bearing consecutive serial numbers.

Parts of the Democratic headquarters had been ransacked. Mr. O'Brien subsequently said that the party's opponents could have found an array of sensitive material, but no pattern to the search has been disclosed.

Last Sunday, the Associated Press discovered from Republican financial records filed with the Government that Mr. McCord worked for both the Committee to Re-Elect the President and the Republican National Committee.

## 'Security Coordinator'

The records showed that since January Mr. McCord had received \$1,200 a month as "security coordinator" for the Nixon organization, and that since October he was paid more than \$600 a month for guard services for the Republican unit.

The following day it was learned that in address books taken by the police from Mr. Barker and Mr. Martinez the name of E. (for Everette) Howard Hunt appeared. Mr. Hunt had worked, as recently as March 29, as a White House consultant.

The police collected what the five men had with them at the

cont. p. 2

## Are Cuban exiles being set up?

By VIRGINIA PREWETT



THE bungling, Bay-of-Pigs style of the national Democratic headquarters break-in, plus the reappearance of veterans of the CIA team that directed the Bay of Pigs invasion, with a few Cuban henchmen, have created in the minds of many Cuban exile personalities in Miami the impression that their community is being set up for something.

Though nobody has succeeded in linking any genuine or responsible Cuban exile leader to the shady bugging affair, a good deal of the current newspaper speculation creates a shadow of a doubt about the exile community's role. I have been asked many times if some exile community motive, as opposed to the actions of an insignificant few, could have prompted the burglary.

"We don't know who could be setting us up," said a genuine and recognized exile community leader on the phone from Miami, "but we're getting the feeling that if something had hap-

pens during either the Democratic or Republican convention here, 'Cuban exiles' are going to be blamed."

I share their feeling that the reappearance of members of the CIA's Bay of Pigs team bodes no good for the anti-Castro Cubans. I was as close as any North American to the Cuban directorate that sponsored the invasion, though I did not personally know the CIA team in charge of it. Early on, I formed a deep conviction, which has grown with time, that the CIA squad itself designed the invasion for failure.

A Cuban who was a member of the sponsoring exile council has just revealed that "Frank Bender," the CIA invasion chief, was in fact a man named Frank Groller. And that, furthermore, he was one of the several Central Europeans being used at the time by the CIA.

The only authentic CIA operative that I ever knew in Latin America was one of these. Wherever he touched, disaster followed for the democratic, anti-communist left. He channeled aid for years to the Dominican Juan Bosch and played a shadowy role in the 1965 Dominican rebellion. My most responsible U.S. sources, including a CIA advisor, came to question whether he was in fact a double agent.

If the CIA team making arrangements for the Bay of Pigs had indeed been Iron Curtain double agents, they could not have planned failure more efficiently.

I cite only two of many points sustaining this thesis: First, in a military sense, there was no way to guarantee that previous invader air strikes, even if fully carried out, would destroy all of Castro's potential to hit back from the air. Yet the invasion ships had only two or three anti-aircraft machine guns. These were defectively mounted and wrenched loose from the deck on their first firing, killing invasion personnel.

Secondly, the night the invaders left Central America, Antonio Varona, of the exile council sponsoring the invasion, was in my living room weeping tears of rage. He said that as the invasion got under way, the CIA team forbade the Cuban leaders to use the Swan Island radio station from which it had been agreed the latter would send pre-arranged signals to their counterparts inside Cuba so they could help the invasion. And immediately afterwards, the exile leaders themselves were put under a kind of U.S. house arrest and held incommunicado.

# O'Brien Asks Nixon For Special Probe Of Bugging Incident

By Bob Woodward  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien has requested that President Nixon appoint a "special prosecutor of unimpeachable integrity and national reputation" to investigate the June 17 attempted bugging of Democratic headquarters here.

Placing the entire investigation in such hands would insure the complete objectivity of the inquiry, O'Brien said in a letter to the President dated Saturday.

O'Brien read the letter yesterday on NBC's television show "Meet the Press." Asked if he had any more evidence to substantiate his charge made Tuesday that the bugging attempt involved the White House, O'Brien said, "There is information our attorneys have."

On Tuesday, while filing a \$1 million civil suit against the Nixon campaign committee in connection with the incident, O'Brien cited the "potential involvement" of special counsel to the president, Charles W. Colson.

To date, Colson, a behind-the-scenes political strategist for the President, has been linked only indirectly to the incident.

That link is through Colson's sometimes \$100-a-day consultant, Howard E. Hunt, the former CIA agent and novelist, whose name and home telephone number was found in two of the suspects' address books with the notation "W. House" and "W.H."

Yesterday, O'Brien said "our attorneys will unfold the case." The Democratic party's attorney, Joseph A. Califano, refused to say yesterday what that case might be.

The investigation is now being handled by the U.S. Attorney's office here and the FBI — both of which report directly to the Justice Department.

The White House had no immediate comment on O'Brien's request, but last week President Nixon said that the "proper legal authorities" were already handling the investigation.

Appointment of a special prosecutor not directly responsible to the Justice Department could further thrust the incident into the political arena and insure it would stay alive until November.

The most recent example of a special prosecutor is Barnabas F. Sears, who in Chicago obtained the indictment of State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan.

Hanrahan and 13 others were indicted on charges of obstructing justice following a police raid in which two Black Panthers were killed.

The controversy over the Hanrahan indictment still rages. It is partially responsible for the crack that seems to have emerged in the political machine run by Chicago.

The bugging incident is likely to stay alive this week.

A hearing on the Democrat's \$1 million suit is scheduled for Tuesday, and a preliminary hearing on the charges against the five suspects arrested in the incident is slated for Thursday.

The suspects were arrested at 2:30 a.m. inside the 29-office suite of the Democrats' headquarters in the Watergate, 2600 Virginia Ave. NW.

The suspects include James W. McCord Jr., the former CIA and FBI employee who was up until last Monday the security chief for the Nixon re-election committee. He is the only one free on bond.

Still in D.C. jail are the other four: Bernard L. Barker, a Miami real estate agent and reported CIA operative in the abortive Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961; Frank A. Sturgis, well-travelled salvage company owner with anti-Castro ties; Eugene R. Martinez, a

real estate agent for Barker; and Virgilio R. Gonzales, a Miami locksmith.

During the nine days since their arrest, one or more of the five suspects has been linked to the White House, the Committee for the Re-election of the President, the Republican National Committee, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the FBI.

In addition, the police have said four other persons are being sought in connection with the bugging incident.

It has also been reported that the suspects had among their belongings a rough diagram of the Miami headquarters of Sen. George S. McGovern.

On Saturday, a Miami architect said that one of the suspects had attempted last year to obtain blueprints of the Miami Beach convention hall and its air conditioning system.

# A Cuban Exile Angle to The Break-In?

By MERWIN K. SIGALE  
Special to The Star

MIAMI — Its relevance to the break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters is speculative, but there are many Cuban exiles here who shudder at the thought of a Democrat who is "soft" on Cuba defeating President Nixon in November.

The reported connection of some of the suspects in the Washington raid with past anti-Castro activities in Miami has raised the possibility that motives related to U.S. policy on Cuba prompted the apparent effort to bug the Democratic party office.

Moreover, the suspects' evident interest in the layout of certain facilities for the Democratic National Convention — including two hotel ballrooms reserved for Sen. George McGovern — has suggested that some action may have

been planned during the convention in Miami Beach starting July 10. Whether this would have involved intelligence-gathering here or demonstrations by Cuban exiles can only be conjectured.

## Upsurge in Registration

There is ample reason for militant exiles here to want to defeat the Democratic challenger to Nixon, and especially to block the presidential ambitions of McGovern. This may account for an apparent upsurge in GOP voter registration in Miami's Cuban community as well as recent contributions by well-heeled Cuban-American Democrats to Nixon's re-election campaign.

McGovern, the most likely Democratic nominee, has stated in interviews that, as president, he would end the U.S. policy isolating Cuba politically and economically. He has advocated a resumption of trade with Cuba, restoration of diplomatic relations and cultural and travel contacts, and closing of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

The South Dakota senator was one of the speakers at a "Congressional Conference on

U.S.-Cuba Relations" held on Capitol Hill April 19-20, although he did not participate in the open deliberations. Those who did take part, mostly from the academic world and private organizations, joined in a call for steps toward normalizing relations with Cuba.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., whose name has figured in speculation about the Democratic presidential and vice presidential nominations, also was a sponsor. He read a statement at the meeting in which he said the United States should "take the first step" toward a reconciliation with Cuba. Noting administration gestures toward China, Kennedy called the "stale policy" toward Cuba "a double standard of diplomacy that leads us nowhere."

Also lending their names as sponsors of the conference were eight other senators, all Democrats except Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., and 19 House members, 17 of them Democrats.

## 'Little Havana' Feelings

Although anti-Castro passions in the Miami area have cooled in the 13 years since Castro took power, the kind of talk about Cuba that has come from McGovern and some other leading Democrats still rankles a segment of "Little Havana's" residents.

One who takes a hard view on Cuba is Miguel A. Suarez, a Cuban-American lawyer who is a partner in real estate ventures with Bernard L. Barker, one of the five suspects in the Washington break-in. Suarez, who has denied having any knowledge of the raid, is a self-described "Nixonian" Republican, and the door to his law office bears a "Re-elect the President" sticker.

He also is a contributor of articles to the Spanish-language magazine *Replica*, published here, and in the May 14-20 issue, he pleaded, "Don't negotiate with Castro, Mr.

"After living in exile for more than 11 years," he wrote, "it is impossible to permit coexistence with the Red beast, nor would my mind adjust to it." He called for a policy that would allow Cuban exiles to wage war against Castro "from friendly soil," meaning the United States. Suarez did not mention McGovern or any other Democrat.

Some Cubans still are wary of the Democrats, since it was President John F. Kennedy who failed to give all-out U.S. support to the Bay of Pigs invasion or to take steps toward fulfilling his promise to the ransomed invaders that they would ultimately return to a "free Cuba." Cuban hopes were not realized, either, under President Lyndon B. Johnson or even under Nixon.

## A Choice This Year

This year, however, there could be a choice between McGovern, who advocates a friendlier policy toward Cuba, and Nixon, who has remained hostile toward Castro although restricting the ability of exiles to raid Cuba from U.S. soil.

McGovern may be one reason for the rising GOP registration in Cuban precincts. It is estimated that 30,000 to 40,000 of the more than 250,000 Cubans in Dade County are U.S. citizens who have registered to vote.

The potential McGovern-Nixon contest apparently has benefited GOP fund-raising in the Cuban community here. Oscar A. White, 44, a Cuban-American lawyer who settled in this country in 1946, gave a \$100-a-couple dinner at his North Miami home on June 3 and raised \$15,000 for the National Hispanic Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President, an organization that operates under former Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans, the chief fund-raiser for Nixon's campaign.

"It was very successful," said White. "Most of my friends — about 90 percent of them Democrats — were present." White said he switched from the Democratic to the Republican party three months ago. He and his well-to-do friends, he explained, are more "scared" of McGovern's tax proposals than of his views on Cuba.

Among Cubans in general, however, McGovern's Cuba policy looms larger.

"There's no question about that," said Jose M. Casanova, state finance chairman for the Hispanic committee and vice president of a brokerage firm. "We are conservative, we are vigorously anti-Communist, and we feel the Republican national platform and Mr. Nixon reflect this ideology more than the Democratic platform as a whole and of course much more than Sen. McGovern."

## Goal of \$200,000

Casanova said his state group has raised about \$70,000 for the Nixon campaign and has a goal of at least \$200,000 of the \$1 million targeted on a national basis by the Hispanic committee. Mexican-Americans in California and Texas are expected to contribute most of over-all sum, he said.

Nixon's failure to unleash the exiles against Castro is "the No. 1 criticism we find" when seeking funds, Casanova said, but "those who are disillusioned feel they have no choice on the other side. We are not saying Nixon is going to do anything. We recognize that his first obligation is to the country as a whole. We do know one thing: He is sympathetic to our people. He is a staunch anti-Communist."

25 JUN 1972

**Watergate Caper:****From the  
Folks Who  
Brought  
You the  
Bay of Pigs**

WASHINGTON—The affair has become popularly known in the capital as the "Watergate Caper." But what it means no one is quite sure.

It all began at about 2 A.M. Saturday, June 17, when three Washington policemen answered what they thought was a burglary call to the elegant hotel and business Watergate complex overlooking the Potomac River. In the offices of the Democratic National Committee on the sixth floor of the Watergate Office Building the police surprised five men carrying electronic listening devices and special cameras. Upon being questioned they proved to have unusual political links and Central Intelligence Agency backgrounds.

One of them was James W. McCord, a former C.I.A. official and the security expert for the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-Elect the President. The others were Bernard L. Barker, a wealthy Cuban-born Miami realtor (equipped for the job with walkie-talkie radios, canisters of Mace, burglar tools and 53 sequentially numbered \$100 bills which the F.B.I. later discovered were part of the proceeds of four checks drawn on a Mexican bank deposited in a Miami Beach bank and then withdrawn in an \$89,000 lump by Mr. Barker in May); a Florida notary public of Cuban origin; a onetime Havana barber and locksmith; and an American soldier of fortune.

And looming behind the group was an even more adventurous figure—E. Howard Hunt Jr., a former top C.I.A. official who planned the abortive 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Mr. Hunt until last March had been a \$100-a-day White House consultant and has worked as a writer for a Washington public relations firm connected with efforts to raise funds for President Nixon's re-election campaign. He is also a prolific author

of spy novels.

Mr. Hunt appeared to be the chief of what some investigators said was a loosely organized Cuban-American, right-wing commando team. In his Bay of Pigs days, Mr. Hunt was known under the code name of "Eduardo," one of his closest associates at the time was "Macho," the nom-de-guerre of Mr. Barker.

Mr. Hunt, who would not talk with the F.B.I., vanished from sight. Mr. Barker would not talk with the F.B.I. either. But various sources said he had recruited three of the operatives arrested at the Watergate Office Building, plus four others who escaped. The men were said to have been flown from Miami to Washington, driven from the airport in a 1972 Chrysler and installed at the Watergate Hotel under false names as members of a Miami real estate corporation. After a lobster dinner, they moved next door for the break-in.

What was the reason for the job?

Judging from the equipment found on the suspects when they were arrested in the office of Lawrence O'Brien, national chairman of the Democratic party, Mr. Barker and his companions were trying to install a secret transmitter in the ceiling and photograph Democratic files.

The incident apparently was not an isolated event. This commando team or its associates were suspected of having pulled off several other jobs recently. One of them was a burglary at the Chilean Embassy, during which documents were apparently micro-filmed. And there was an earlier attempt on the Democratic headquarters.

For the Republicans the affair was, of course, an embarrassment. They deplored it, officially, as un-American. President Nixon told a news conference last Thursday that the White House had "no involvement whatsoever." But neither he nor any of his staff explained why Mr. McCord—who was later freed on bail—was among the raiders captured. Nor was there any explanation of the relationship between Mr. Hunt and Charles W. Colson, a special counsel to the President who had recommended hiring Mr. Hunt as a part-time White House consultant.

For the Democrats the affair produced some satisfying anti-Administration publicity. "I wish it had happened in October instead of June, but I don't want to sound ungrateful," one Democrat said. The party moved to exploit the case by filing a million-dollar suit against the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-elect the President. That could keep the topic alive through the summer.

—TAD SZULC

STATINTL



25 JUN 1972

# From Those Wonderful People

STATINTL

By Art Buchwald

## Capitol Punishment

# Who Brought You 'The Bay of Pigs'

The arrest of five men in the Democratic National Headquarters last weekend has caused a great deal of consternation in high Republican circles. All leading officials deny they had any knowledge of the incident, which was planned and executed by the same people who gave us the "Bay of Pigs."

While most people are mystified as to how it was possible that high Republican figures did not know of the raid, it was easily explained to me by a friend who is very close to the Republican Party.

"The decision to raid the Democratic National Headquarters in Washington was made as a protective reaction strike. We knew the Democrats were massing a buildup for an attack on the Republicans in July, and it was in our interests to destroy their files before they were used against us."

"But wasn't this raid a violation of the presidential orders not to bug the enemy's telephones unless the Republicans were attacked first?"

"The general in the field who made the decision may have gone beyond the literal intention of the rules, but he believed his actions were justified on the basis of intelligence reports that the Democrats were going to invade Miami."

"But at the time the raid was made, the Democratic headquarters was considered off limits as a target area," I said. "Surely high Republican officials must have been aware of what was going on."

"As far as the high officials were concerned, they had no knowledge of the raid. In fact, they had given out strict orders that illegal strikes against the Democrats had to be cleared with

them. Somehow communications got fouled up, which can happen during an election year."

"Do you believe a raid of this type, if successful, could have changed the outcome in November?"

"We are fighting a tough, ruthless enemy who will stop at nothing to impose its type of government on the American people," he said. "We cannot sit idly by and allow them to take over the White House."

"Perhaps we didn't play by all the rules of the game, but I can assure you the Democrats are not playing by the rules either. This incident has been blown out of all proportion."

"Had the raid succeeded no one would have said a word. But because it failed, everyone is up in arms. Instead of criticizing the people behind the attack, I think they should be congratulated for putting their party first."

"But," I said, "aren't you escalating the election by bugging the Democrats, and photographing their files?"

"We did not escalate the election. They did. They're the ones who are trying to kick us out. Their leaders have said as much. The President has said many times he would agree to a ceasefire, providing the Democrats give up their political ambitions. But the honor of the presidency is at stake, and Mr. Nixon has no intention of giving the country away."

"Will the Republicans court-martial the people responsible for the raid on the Democratic headquarters?"

"No, but they will be demoted and put on a pension."

"That's tough," I said.

"Perhaps. But their worst punishment is that they will never be allowed to bug for the Republican Party again."

# Soldier of Fortune Held on High Bail

By Carl Bernstein  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In U.S. District Court Thursday, Frank Sturgis—also known as Frank Fiorini—was described by a prosecutor as the most well-traveled of the five men arrested in the alleged plot to bug the offices of the Democratic National Committee.

Contending that Sturgis would be the most likely of the five to flee, the prosecutor successfully argued for a second time Friday that the 47-year-old soldier of fortune be denied a reduction in the \$50,000 bond that has kept him inside the District of Columbia jail since Saturday.

At the time of his arrest, Sturgis was carrying a birth certificate, two driver's licenses and a social security card—all in the name of Edward Joseph Hamilton.

Since 1954, when he disappeared on a hunting trip in the Dismal Swamp of North Carolina, Sturgis has demonstrated a propensity for dropping out of sight and then showing up in strange places at strange times.

In 1953, after his wife and friends in Norfolk reported him missing, Sturgis unexpectedly appeared in an Associated Press wirephoto from Cuba. It showed him standing over the mass grave of 75 executed followers of Fulgencio Batista. He had joined the rebel army of Fidel Castro in the hills of Oriente Province.

A year later, Sturgis landed a plane in Miami with the chief of Castro's air corps, Maj. Pedro Diaz Lanz, and immediately joined the Cuban exile campaign against Castro.

The campaign may or not have taken him to the Bay of Pigs (depending on whom you listen to), definitely landed him in Guatemala (where he trained a guerrilla force of 23 Cuban exiles), and eventually led to a jail in British Honduras.

On that occasion, in 1963, Sturgis told British authorities that the boat on which he and 19 companions were arrested was on a voyage to make a commando raid in Cuba. However, the Mexican captain of the craft claimed that Sturgis and his friends had hijacked the boat.

By that time, Sturgis had already had his American citizenship revoked (for

serving in a foreign army, Castro's), then restored (with help from then Florida Sen. George Smithers), had been arrested for making a propaganda leaflet raid over Havana with his old friend, Diaz Lanz, and had acquired the reputation of being something of an irresponsible adventurer among Cuban exile leaders in Miami.

Miguel Acoca, a Washington Post special correspondent who said he knew Sturgis "quite well" in Miami recalled:

"Until 1967, when I last saw him, Fiorini was part of that band of seedy anti-Castro James Bonds living off anti-Castro movements in Florida, and getting money from right-wing Texans and Californians."

Acoca said Sturgis was "among those questioned by the FBI after John Kennedy's assassination because of his activities. At one time his Miami house was an arsenal, complete with 20 millimeter cannons."

Cuban exile leaders variously described Sturgis as unreliable, a romantic, a seeker of publicity, a hanger-on constantly trying to involve himself with whatever intrigue he could find at the moment.

The latest of his adventures—notwithstanding the break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters—appears to have been an attempt to drum up Cuban exile support for

President Nixon's decision to mine the Haiphong harbor.

According to reliable exile sources in Miami, Sturgis and another of the suspects in the bugging case, Bernard L. Barker, showed up uninvited at a meeting called to organize a demonstration supporting the President.

Both Barker and Sturgis spoke at the meeting, the sources said, and Sturgis particularly tried to assume a role of leadership in the demonstration, claiming he represented the interests of exiles from "captive nations." He eventually ended up driving one of the lead trucks in a 200-vehicle convoy that was in the vanguard of the demonstration, the sources said.

Cubans in Miami reported that Sturgis and Barker had been attempting to organize exile demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention next month, for the purpose of embarrassing the party.

"The problem in figuring out Sturgis," one Miami newspaper reporter has said, "is that you don't know how much of what you hear about him is self-generated and exaggerated, and what is fact."

The reporter cited Sturgis' purported involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency as a case in point. "There's no question he might have done some relatively minor work for the agency off and on," the reporter said, "But some people think he was once a big wheel who organized guerrillas; and other people think he was supposed to report on Cubans who were too wild for the CIA."

Separating fantasy and fact, this much is known about Frank Sturgis, the

sticky, wavy-haired itinerant with an equal fondness for jungle fatigues and white-on-white shirts.

He was born Frank Anthony Fiorini in Norfolk, Va., worked as a bartender and waiter and completed two years of college at Old Dominion College there.

During World War II, he served as a corporal in the Marine Corps and reportedly was wounded at Okinawa. Following the war, he served as a reserve lieutenant in the Army Air Corps and worked as a flight instructor at Glenrock Airport in Norfolk.

In 1952, when his mother (said to be a cripple in newspaper reports) married Ralph Sturgis, Fiorini changed his name to Sturgis.

His two-month disappearance on that hunting trip in 1954 ended when Sturgis turned up in San Diego. He told police he remembered little about the interval except that it had been "too late" for hunting, so he went to a movie in Elizabeth City, N.C., instead. Following the movie, Sturgis said, he was mugged and beaten by four men.

By the time he showed up in Cuba in 1953 (he became interested in the revolution when he attended a pro-Castro rally during his Miami honeymoon a year earlier) Sturgis was using the name Fiorini again. In a letter outlined, "High in the mountains" of Cuba he wrote:

"My Darling Wife: It breaks my heart to be away from you but I cannot undo what I started. I have gotten myself a very good reputation with Fidel and—believe it or not—he is a good friend of mine."

Following the march of Castro's rebels into Havana, Sturgis claims that the new premier made him overseer of gambling in that city. Some exiles say the claim is true, others say Sturgis was simply posted at one of the casinos as a bouncer.

Soon after his return to Miami from Cuba, Sturgis and Bernard L. Barker—identified in some reports as the leader of the group arrested inside the Democratic National Committee offices—became acquainted.

Columnist Jack Anderson, whom Sturgis has previously supplied with information and who Friday offered to take legal custody of the suspect, told reporters that "Frankie... said he worked for Barker" when they were arrested.

Meanwhile, Sturgis' attorney told a judge that his client lives with a wife and daughter in Miami, where he earns \$150 a week as a salesman for an aluminum company and owner of a salvage firm. He argued that Sturgis is a good candidate for reduction of bond and urged that he be released to the custody of Anderson or

STATINTL

24 JUN 1972

## Suspect in Raid on Democrats Drew \$89,000 From Bank, Hearing Is Told

By AGIS SALPUKAS  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 23 — Bernard L. Barker, one of the five men arrested in the raid on the Democratic headquarters last Saturday, withdrew \$89,000 from a Miami bank on May 8, an Assistant United States Attorney, Earl J. Silbert, said today. The money included \$10,000 in \$100 bills.

Mr. Silbert said at a hearing to determine if bail should be reduced for the five men that some of the \$100 bills recovered by the police at the Democratic headquarters and from the rooms of the suspects had come from the same bank, the Republic National Bank of Miami.

He said that the \$89,000 was deposited at the bank in the name of Barker Assoc. Inc. on April 24 in the form of four checks drawn on the Banco Internacional, S.A. of Mexico City.

Mr. Silbert did not disclose the source of the checks, which were for \$24,000, \$15,000, \$32,000 and \$18,000.

Joseph A. Rafferty Jr., the attorney for Mr. Barker, said that his client had indicated that the checks had been deposited at the bank as part of a real estate transaction and that the money had reverted to him when the deal fell through.

Mr. Barker, one of the top planners of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, has been working as a real estate salesman in Miami and is the president of Barker Associates, Inc., a small real estate company there.

Mr. Silbert argued at the Superior Court hearing before Judge James A. Belson that Mr. Barker's bail should not be reduced because someone handling such large amounts of money might try to leave the country.

Judge Belson agreed, saying that "a man with \$89,000 is a very mobile person." He postponed a ruling on the request to ease bail until Monday, when he wants Mr. Rafferty to present affidavits from the bank showing whether the money was part of a real estate transaction.

The judge did accept a cash bond of \$250,000 for Barker, James W. McCord Jr., a security official for the Republican National Committee. Mr.

McCord was released with the provision that he not leave the Washington area and that he report to the local bail agency every day.

An official for the Federal Communications Commission said today that Mr. McCord had been issued special temporary radio licenses for transmitters on May 7 in connection with security for the Republican National Committee headquarters.

The police said they found two walkie-talkies with Mr. McCord when he and four other men were arrested in the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee on the sixth floor of the Watergate Hotel.

Sources close to the investigation said that three of the frequencies to which the walkie-talkies were tuned were the frequencies assigned to Mr. McCord by the F.C.C.

The judge also refused to change the \$50,000 bail bond for Frank Sturgis, a key figure in the Bay of Pigs invasion and other anti-Castro movements.

Mr. Silbert called Mr. Sturgis a "soldier of fortune" and said that the police had found on his possession a visa from the Mexican Government allowing him to visit the country from Jan. 7 through April 6 of this year. The visa was made out in the name of Edward Hamilton, the alias Mr. Sturgis used when he registered with seven other men at the Watergate from May 26 through May 29.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is seeking four other men who stayed at the Watergate. Cuban sources said that

two of the men might be connected to a group of Cuban veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion who have met in Miami with American friends from Washington and agreed on direct action to combat what they viewed as left-wing causes in the United States.

Jack Anderson, the nationally syndicated columnist who appeared in court to vouch for Mr. Sturgis, said that Mr. Sturgis told him he had joined Mr. Barker to aid Cuban exiles in the United States.

Mr. Anderson, who said he was a long-time acquaintance of Mr. Sturgis, recalled that he had seen Mr. Sturgis at the National Committee headquarters Friday with a group of Cubans.

23 JUN 1972

## Political Espionage

ONE of the more improbable events of this year's surprise-packed presidential election extravaganza was the seizure at gunpoint last Saturday of five men, caught red-handed and red-faced while attempting to bug the Washington headquarters of the Democratic National Committee and rifle its files.

They were a curious bunch of bunglers indeed. Their backgrounds included various involvements either with the Central Intelligence Agency, anti-Castro activities, or both. One of them was a former White House consultant on "intelligence" and "the flow of narcotics," subsequently employed as a writer by a Washington public relations firm.

Top officials of the Republican Party immediately disclaimed any connection with the aborted caper, and it is not difficult to believe them. Only a real pinhead could have plotted such a comic opera stunt, in which the risks of exposure always far outweighed any dubious possible rewards.

But the fact is that the attempt was made, and made with highly sophisticated electronic, burglary and photographic equipment — the last apparently intended to copy contents of file drawers which had been opened. The charge of "political espionage" hurled by Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien thus seems hardly extravagant.

It is possible the intruders were working on some crackpot scheme of their own. In that case the puzzling question is what they hoped to accomplish. It is also possible they were tools in a really sinister if ill-conceived political plot. In that case the question is who is really guilty.

In either case the integrity of the American political process has been smeared by a cowardly and ugly act. A full investigation and full disclosure of all the facts is imperative, no matter what those facts may reveal and no matter who may become implicated.

23 JUN 1972



## Get the boss!

Where is CIA man Charles W. Colson, President Nixon's special adviser?

Who in the White House has put this former top-flight CIA official in a protective deep-freeze?

He is the No. 1 man wanted to answer questions about the bugging raid on Democratic Party headquarters last Saturday. It was Colson who recommended E. Howard Hunt, Jr., to be a White House consultant; Hunt personally headed the 1961 Bay of Pigs operation against Cuba.

There are damaging questions to answer about the White House links to the five men arrested, especially to one James W. McCord. McCord, arrested at gunpoint in the dead of night last Saturday, has been "security specialist" for the GOP National Committee and for the Committee to Reelect the President. Hunt is said to have met secretly with McCord in Miami a few weeks ago.

The case has become even more serious with discovery that the culprits had firebombs and bomb-making devices with them. The White House has called it "a third rate burglary effort" in its arrogant effort to bluff its way out.

The country must learn the facts the White House is desperately trying to conceal. Is some giant diversion being cooked up in this pre-election period? Get to the bottom of it!

## Cuban Veterans Group Linked To Raid on Democratic Office

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22— Among other developments an organization made up of Cuban veterans who served in the United States Army after participating in the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 was reported by Cuban sources today to have been involved in last Saturday's raid on the Democratic National Committee headquarters. The organization, believed to be composed of scores of 800 Cubans trained at Fort Jackson, S. C., in 1953, is known by its Spanish name of Ex-Combatientes Cubanos de Fort Jackson.

According to Cuban sources, a number of the veterans, enlisting the aid of other Cuban refugees, met several times in Miami with American friends from Washington and agreed on direct action to combat what they viewed as left-wing causes in the United States.

The group and its associates are said by Cuban sources in Miami to have had a role in four incidents here since then, beginning in early May. But it is not known whether the Combatientes decided alone on specific actions or in response to requests by others.

The Miami sources said that Angel Ferrer, president of the Combatientes, and Humberto Lopes, a member, were in Washington, staying at the Watergate Hotel, at the time of the alleged attempt to install secret listening devices at the Democratic headquarters, which is in the office building adjoining the hotel.

They were also said to have visited here previously. Eight persons from Miami were registered at the hotel under false names and four of them were arrested when the police foiled the break-in. The fifth arrested man was from the Washington area.

Cuban sources said that two of those detained were or had been members of the Combatientes. Mr. Ferrer and Mr. Lopes could not be found in Miami today. Four persons are being sought for questioning by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Washington police.

Among other developments in the case today were the following:

President Nixon said at a news conference that the White House had "no involvement whatsoever" in the incident at the Democratic headquarters.

Some Democratic leaders had charged that "all the lines" in this affair pointed to the White House because E. Howard Hunt Jr., a former ranking Central Intelligence Agency official whose name has been linked to the raiders, served until last March as a part-time White House consultant.

But Mr. Nixon said that this kind of action had no place in the electoral or government process, and that "the matter is under investigation by the police and the F.B.I."

Mr. Hunt, who has been unreachable since last Sunday, telephoned his present employer—Robert F. Bennett, president of the Washington public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen Company—last night to say that he was leaving his suburban Maryland home because of the "impact" the publicity in the case was having on his children.

Mr. Bennett said that Mr. Hunt did not tell him where he was going or for how long. Mr. Bennett said that Mr. Hunt was informed that the Mullen company had suspended him from his job.

The District of Columbia Superior Court reduced the bail of the five jailed suspects by \$10,000 each. Four of the five were allowed by Judge James A. Belson to post 10 per cent of the bail as bond with the court.

None of them were released today, however, because Judge Belson also ruled that the suspects must appear before him in court to explain the sources of the bond money.

Bail was reduced from \$50,000 to \$40,000 for Bernard L. Barker, a wealthy Cuban-born Miami realtor, and Frank Sturgis, an American with past involvements in Cuba.

It remained at \$50,000 for Eugenio R. Martinez, a notary public and an employee of Mr. Barker, and Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith. Cuban sources said that these two men appeared to have had links with the combatants.

Judge Belson reserved his decision on letting Mr. Gonzales post the 10 per cent bond until it could be ascertained whether

he worked as reported by the police, for a Miami locksmith company.

The bail was kept at \$30,000 for James J. McCord, formerly associated with the Central Intelligence Agency and until last Monday the security chief for the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

The judge also ordered all five, after their release, to remain within the District of Columbia area and to report at frequent intervals to the District's bonding agency.

An Assistant United States Attorney, Earl J. Silbert, told Judge Belson in court that Federal charges might soon be brought against the five. Thus far, they have been charged only with burglary in the District's jurisdiction.

Mr. Silbert said that Mr. McCord was a "poor risk" in terms of remaining here after his release because in the last two months he "traveled extensively."

He said that Mr. McCord, on his last trip to Miami, about two weeks ago, rented two different apartments.

Cuban sources reported earlier that both Mr. McCord and Mr. Hunt had made several trips to Miami since late March, apparently to meet with Mr. Barker and his Cuban political associates.

Mr. Bennett of the Mullen company said that Mr. Hunt had made at least one trip to Miami this spring.

Mr. Hunt was the principal C.I.A. official in charge of the Bay of Pigs invasion, using the code name "Eduardo." Mr. Barker, then known as "Macho," was closely associated with him in the invasion preparations, as was Mr. McCord.

**Bank Records Studied**

The F.B.I. investigation in Miami spread today to a local bank where records were subpoenaed because of suspicion that some of the \$100 bills, totaling \$5,300, found on the raiders and in their hotel rooms had come from there.

It was Mr. Barker, according to his business partner, who made the arrangements to book the rooms at the Watergate for nine persons.

Miguel R. Suarez, a Miami lawyer, said that sometime last month Mr. Barker obtained from his office letterheads of Ameritas, Inc., a corporation set up in April, 1969, to put up an apartment building in Hialeah, Fla.

Mr. Barker is associated with Mr. Suarez, who head Ameritas, with the bank is a wholly owned subsidiary of the latter's

All-State Investment Fund, S.A., incorporated in Panama.

Mr. Suarez said that Mr. Barker, or his wife, used the for reservations at the Watergate for the group's arrival there from Miami last Friday.

All the reservations were made under false names.

The prosecutor also told the court that four of the five alleged raiders refused yesterday to answer questions put to them by the FBI agents.

According to other sources, Mr. Hunt, the former White House consultant, also refused to answer F.B.I. questions earlier this week.

The Combatientes organization was formed by former officers and men of the Cuban contingent that had served at Fort Jackson and elsewhere with the United States Army.

**Link to Reserve Unit**

Cuban sources said that a number of these veterans banded together in the Combatientes organization, which for a time had a small office in Miami. They said that Mr. Hunt and Mr. McCord maintained loose contacts with the group over the years.

These sources also reported that some contact existed between the Cubans and a special Washington-based United States Military Reserve unit preparing and updating plans for the wartime information security program.

The 16-man unit, which is allegedly also concerned with radicals in the United States, operates under the Office of Emergency Plans and Preparedness, which is a part of the Executive office of the President.

Mr. McCord, a former Air Force lieutenant colonel, belonged to this unit until several months ago.

James H. Landis, a retired Army colonel who heads the unit, refused to comment today when he was asked by a reporter whether he knew Mr. Hunt or ever head of him before this week.



# Exiles' View of 'Bugging'

STATINTL

By Peter Jay  
and Kirk Scharfenberg  
Washington Post Staff Writers

MIAMI, June 22—For Miami's exile community, last Saturday's unsuccessful effort to bug the Washington offices of the Democratic National Committee seemed to have everything: conspiracy, Cuban agents and the CIA.

It had all the elements of what one intelligence veteran called "this subsurface business"—CIA involvement with Cuban affairs—and interest was heightened by vague reports of Cuban-led disruptions of this summer's two national political conventions across the bay at Miami Beach.

The local rumor mills are still turning out new theories about the bugging, while leaders of militant anti-Castro groups continue to seek to disassociate themselves from Bernard L. Barker, Virgilio Gonzales and Eugenio R. Martinez—the three Cubans among the five men arrested in the Democrats' Watergate headquarters.

Two main theories about the bugging attempt seem to be emerging here, neither of them based on anything more than the reputations of the men involved, a Latin penchant for conspiracies and a bit of guesswork.

One is that the three—along with their American companions, former Central Intelligence Agency man James W. McCord Jr. and Frank A. Sturgis—were free-lance adventurers who hoped to sell their stolen intelligence to the highest bidder.

Not surprisingly, the other theory is that the five were sent on their mission by high-ranking Republicans.

"Isn't it too bad they got caught—it's so embarrassing," a Cuban member of the American Club—a business organization here with a substantial and conservative Latin membership—told a friend the other day.

Diego Medina, a physician who heads Alpha 66, one of Miami's main anti-Castro groups, subscribes to the theory that the Watergate suspects were free-lancers.

"It was so badly done, so amateurish," he said, sitting in his office beneath a map of the United States with scat-

tered pins denoting Alpha 66 chapters in other cities. "If it had been ordered by the White House, it would have been done better."

Medina said he knew nothing of Ameritas, a Miami organization to which Washington police said the Watergate Five belonged, or of Howard E. Hunt Jr., a novelist, former White House consultant and longtime CIA operative whose name was found in the suspects' notebooks, and who has since dropped from sight. (Ameritas was identified yesterday as a corporation promoting and developing real estate projects for a Panamanian company.)

He said he knew Gonzales and Martinez slightly by reputation, but knew nothing of Barker. Tomas Cruz, the head of another, larger anti-Castro group, also denied knowing Barker—although by the account of Cuban journalists and other sources, Barker was well known throughout the anti-Castro movement here for his role in helping run the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

Ever since the Bay of Pigs, Cubans in Miami have tended to see CIA involvement everywhere, observers of the community here say. "The CIA's been out of business here for at least five years," one knowledgeable Cuban source said, "but no one will believe that."

Here are two accounts:

"Obviously it's a CIA job," said one Cuban broadcast journalist. "Look at those \$100 (bills) the police found on those five guys. I remember when CIA front groups used to buy time on our station and they always paid in consecutively numbered \$100 bills. One group's bills would follow another's. See?"

"A friend of mine was just paid \$700 to disrupt the Democratic Convention," another source said. "The man who paid it to him said he worked for the CIA. My friend took the money and went to Puerto Rico."

On such accounts are local legends built.

Only a fraction of the Miami area's 300,000 Spanish-speaking residents, more than two-thirds of whom are Cuban, who make up a quarter of

Dade County's population—are active in organized anti-Castro activity, but anti-communism is widely professed.

Many of this area's 28 Spanish-language weekly newspapers have called for counter-demonstrations against youthful protesters expected at the national political conventions. According to one Cuban journalist, one such paper said the protesters are "dirty hippies" who should be sent packing.

By and large, the Cuban community is relatively prosperous—with the median household income over \$8,000 a year, according to census figures, contrasted with under \$6,000 for black families here and \$9,200 for the area as a whole.

According to some observers of the Cuban scene here, the paramount political concerns among exiles are domestic—crime and wages—rather than foreign questions such as American policy toward Cuba, and the overthrow of Castro, that now appears unlikely.

# Realty Firm Probed in Break-in

By MERWIN K. SIGALE  
Star Staff Writer

MIAMI—The FBI's Miami office, investigating the bungled break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, is looking into Ameritas, Inc., a real estate venture founded with visions of financial glory. Ameritas entered the already confused picture when authorities in Washington disclosed that the firm's stationery had been used in making reservations at the Watergate Hotel for four of the five arrested men and four others whose identities have not been uncovered. All used false names.

It turns out that Ameritas is linked to a parent offshore mutual fund that never got off the ground, and both are headed by Miguel A. Suarez, a business associate of Miami realtor Bernard L. Barker, who is one of the five suspects.

## FBI Called Him

Suarez confirmed that Barker has helped him promote a condominium project for Ameritas in the Miami area.

The FBI's interest was disclosed by William Alexander of North Miami Beach, a former president of Ameritas. He said in an interview that FBI agents had called and asked to see him. Agents

Agents talked previously with Suarez after he had revealed his association with Barker in several condominium projects.

Alexander, a 48-year-old test pilot for Eastern Airlines, said that he "verbally resigned" as president of Ameritas more than two years ago and that the corporation has since been run by Suarez, a Miami lawyer and dabbler in state and local Republican politics.

It appeared that the FBI's desire to question Alexander stemmed from an effort to contact everyone who might have knowledge of the suspects. Alexander said, however, that he had never heard of any of them except Frank Fiorini, also known as Frank Sturgis, whom he knew only by reputation.

## "Without My Authority"

Suarez issued a statement in which he said that Ameritas "is not a mysterious right-wing anti-Castro organization" but a Florida real estate corporation.

If the Ameritas name or stationery were used at the Watergate, he said, "it was without my authority, consent or knowledge."

The New York Times quoted Suarez as saying that Barker obtained Ameritas stationery

at Suarez' office and that Barker or his wife used it in writing for reservations at the Watergate for last Friday. The Democratic office, in a building adjoining the hotel, was raided early Saturday.

After early speculation that Ameritas might be a Cuban exile organization, a check with the Florida secretary of state's office revealed that it was a real estate development firm incorporated April 9, 1969, with Alexander as president and Suarez as vice president.

Alberto Carricarte, Suarez' law partner, was listed as secretary and Hector de Lara, an accountant, as treasurer.

## Bay of Pigs Pilot

According to Alexander, a Cuban-born naturalized American who piloted supplies to the Bay of Pigs beachhead in 1961, Ameritas was formed to carry out construction projects for All State Investment Fund, S.A. This was confirmed by Suarez.

Alexander said that All State, established by Suarez in Panama where it could enjoy tax exemptions, was to finance the ambitious venture by selling shares throughout Latin America—much the way Keith Barish's Gramco International and Bernard Cornfeld's Investors Overseas

Service did it until massive redemptions by shareholders rocked their financial empires in 1970.

"The only reason we didn't start was that we didn't have money," said Alexander. "Then Gramco had troubles and we forgot about it." He said the outlook seemed bleak because All State intended to "sell the same idea in a different way."

## Conceived by Suarez

Alexander said that Suarez, whom he described as still a friend, conceived the idea of All State and Ameritas. Had they envisioned All State becoming as big as Gramco or IOS? "As big? Maybe bigger!" Alexander said.

Literature prepared under the name of All State shows some of the projects that Ameritas anticipated building in the United States and Latin America—hospitals, nursing homes, condominium apartments, "boatels," and airport hotels integrated with general aviation facilities.

Each All State descriptive page included the notation, "This construction project was prepared by Ameritas, Inc." One project so advertised and actually completed was Tel-Aviv Tower, condominium apartments in Miami Beach.

However, Alexander said that Suarez built and sold the building on his own, not through Ameritas.

Describing Barker's role in Ameritas, Suarez said the firm is "negotiating a real estate condominium development in Dade County, which Barker Associates, Inc. and I have been promoting since early May, 1972." Barker Associates is the name of Barker's realty firm.

Suarez and Barker also are associated in Biarritz Tower, a 27-unit condominium in Miami and being sold. Also in the Biarritz enterprise is Jose Gareiga, Suarez' cousin.

## Bugging Is No Joke

White House spokesman Ronald Ziegler's flip dismissal of the attempted bugging of Democratic party national headquarters is in keeping with the Nixon Administration's casual attitude toward the issue of electronic surveillance. The abortive espionage, Mr. Ziegler would have us understand, is nothing more than a "third-rate burglary" unworthy of comment.

The press secretary's assessment stands in ironic juxtaposition to the recent unanimous Supreme Court decision declaring domestic wiretapping by the Government without prior court approval unconstitutional. Because the very viability of an open society rests on the legal protection of freely exchanged ideas, any indiscriminate attempt to intrude on the privacy of law-abiding citizens by electronic means has sinister implications and requires investigation.

This is particularly true in light of the prior affiliations of those arrested. All five men have had C.I.A. connections and one is employed by President Nixon's re-election committee as a security coordinator. Another individual, E. Howard Hunt, whose name is listed in the address books of two of those apprehended, has been a consultant to a White House special counsel.

The President's campaign manager, former Attorney General John Mitchell, denies foreknowledge of the raid, and any evidence linking the Republican party to the incident is at this point circumstantial. The Democratic National Committee's suit against the Committee to Re-elect the President rings of election-year partisanship and hyperbole. The question remains, however, by whom and for what purpose the bugging was ordered. Mr. Hunt's refusal to make himself available for questioning, and the Republican National Committee's internal memo ordering those on the payroll to be silent, serve only to fuel speculation about the direction and motives of the act.

A thorough Federal investigation is in the best interest of both political parties and the nation as a whole.

TRENTON, N.J.  
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JUN 22 1972

STATINTL

## Lots Of Suspects

Who would want to eavesdrop on the operations of the Democratic National Committee, going so far as to hire some CIA types to do the dirty work?

Surely not John Mitchell, the President's campaign manager, whose assertion as attorney general of the right to wiretap domestic dissidents without court approval has just been unanimously overturned by Supreme Court justices, including those he picked himself.

Certainly not "Tricky Dick" himself, who understands the need to keep political secrets, especially the identity of those who have contributed \$10 million to his campaign fund.

Maybe it was Hubert Hum-

phrey, trying to find out if he's still on the committee's mailing list.

Or Lawrence O'Brien, the national chairman, who sees in a \$1 million wiretap suit against the Committee to Re-elect the President a chance to redistribute income from rich Republicans to poor Democrats.

Perhaps it was a follower of the late Will Rogers, wondering if there's an organized political party there after all.

Or it might have been Joe McGinnis, preparing a sequel to his 1968 success to be titled "The Bugging of the President."

Who knows?

22 JUN 1972

# Four More Sought In Wiretap Case

By William L. Claiborne  
and Alfred E. Lewis  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Metropolitan police said the campaign headquarters they and the FBI were looking last night for four more persons in connection with the apparent attempted wiretapping Saturday at the Democratic National Committee headquarters here.

The four men, all of whom were registered at the Watergate Hotel from May 26-29, identified themselves on hotel registration forms as members of an organization called Ameretas. Police sources described Ameretas as a right wing, anti-Castro Cuban exile organization in Miami, but The Washington Post, in checks since Saturday with right-wing and Cuban groups, has found no evidence of its existence.

Police refused to divulge the names of the four new suspects, but said that two listed their homes as New York City, one said he was from Kansas and the fourth identified himself as a resident of Miami. One of the four men, police said, had a Spanish surname.

The suspects were registered at the same time as five other men, including the security chief of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, all of whom were arrested Saturday in the sixth-floor Watergate offices of the Democratic Party.

At the time of the arrests, police seized electronic surveillance devices and cameras normally used for copying documents.

Four of the five men charged with felonious burglary and attempted interception of electronic messages were registered at the Watergate under fictitious names, police said. Each had listed himself as being affiliated with an organization called Ameretas.

Police also were investigating reports last night that a woman stayed at the Watergate in May with some of the men who have been identified or arrested in connection with

the campaign headquarters break-in Saturday night.

Police Insp. Ernest J. Prete, who is coordinating the local investigation of the break-in challenged published reports yesterday that the motive was to remove electronic listening devices rather than to install them. Prete spoke to reporters after meeting for 1½ hours with commanding officers of the police burglary squad and the second police district.

"To say that they were bugging is strictly conjecture... It's anyone's guess what they were doing," Prete said.

## Varying Probe

Prete emphasized that the metropolitan police department is investigating only the burglary in the Watergate, while the FBI is concerning itself with possible violation of civil rights and the interstate aspects of the incident.

Police sources said that there was evidence that the persons who broke into the Democratic offices were inside the suite of rooms for at least 20 minutes before they were arrested.

They based this information on the fact that a private security guard discovered taped door locks in the suite 20 minutes before police arrived at the scene and made the arrests.

In other developments yesterday, the manager of the Watergate Hotel said that he did not know why his name and telephone number were listed in an address book confiscated from one of the suspects arrested Saturday.

Carlo Neal's name and phone number were found in an address book and on a separate piece of paper among the suspects' belongings. When asked why his name should be there, he said:

"My name? It's news to me," said Neal, adding, "I can guess why. I suppose it's because I'm reservations manager for the

hotel and these were registered guests."

Neal said he does not normally handle reservations for the hotel, but often solves reservations problems. He said, "This is the only reason I can think why my name would be there."

## Cautioned to Silence

When asked further about the inclusion of his name in the suspects' papers, Neal said, "I have a very good idea why, but I have been asked by federal authorities not to speak on this question."

In response to further questioning, Neal said, "You weren't listening to what I just said. I've been asked by federal authorities not to speak on this question."

It was also learned yesterday that one of the two private security guards on duty at the Watergate office building Saturday night has been summoned for disciplinary action by his employer.

The guard, whom police and officials of the General Services, Inc., refused to identify, left his post shortly before the breakin, saying he was ill, it was learned.

Major Ira O'Neal, of the security firm, said the guard would face company disciplinary action.

However, Frank Wills, the \$80-a-week security guard who discovered the breakin, has been promoted to corporal and has received a 5 per cent salary increase, according to O'Neal.

Police yesterday also disclosed the seizure of several items Saturday night that allegedly belonged to the suspects.

These included:

A letter to Eugenio R. Martinez, a Miami real estate salesman and one of those arrested, reportedly from the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association, soliciting \$4 in dues; several street maps of Washington and Roanoke, Va.; a page torn from the travel section of the Miami News, and a page torn from the Washington telephone directory, listing the address of the Democratic National Committee.

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S - 55,924

JUN 22 1972

## How Far Do We Go With Snooping?

DEMOCRATS understandably are trying to take partisan advantage of the bungled attempt to break into and "bug" their national headquarters.

There are some comic overtones to the whole affair, particularly the possible involvement in the scheme of the retired CIA official who was in charge of the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961.

Aside from the "Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight" aspects of the incident, however, there are some more serious issues involved.

Most important are the possible abuses of the legalized wiretapping that Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court have authorized.

For any administration in power, any bureaucrat or any campaign worker the temptation is great to stretch legalized wiretapping in the name of national security to the point of

indulging electronic eavesdropping, whether court authorized or not, to suspected "radicals." From there it is but a short step to illegal snooping on more conventional political enemies, such as the national political party opposed by some "true believer" or an unscrupulous political hack whose cynicism ignores legal bounds.

Vigorously conducted political campaigns are one thing; resort to electronic snooping with all its overtones of providing material for potential blackmail is something else.

Political espionage by those working in campaigns, of course, is hardly so rare as the Democratic national chairman suggested in his statement announcing a suit against a Nixon campaign organization.

And the Democratic chairman has yet to prove in court the kind of direct link to the White

House he alleged in that statement, a statement that at times bordered on the same kind of disregard for civil liberties that the aborted electronic snooping effort evidenced.

The point is not that one or the other of the political parties is evil.

The point is that as a nation and as a people we had better reassess the degree to which we wish to see "snooping" pervade our private lives and our public life as well as how far we want to have the end justify any means — legal or not — in our political campaigns.

Those issues are age-old ones, but ones that have great relevancy in the Twentieth Century, where totalitarian systems with all their dossiers, and secret police and perpetual, pervasive snooping have made a mockery of freedom for millions of people.



# O'Brien's break-in suit names Nixon backers

BY WALTER R. GORDON  
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The expanding controversy over an attempt to bug and burglarize Democratic party headquarters here took a new twist yesterday as Lawrence F. O'Brien, the Democratic national chairman, named the Nixon campaign organization as a defendant in a \$1 million invasion-of-privacy suit.

"As far as I am concerned," Mr. O'Brien said at a press conference, "there is a clear line of direction to the Committee for the Re-election of the President and a developing clear line to the White House."

## Possibly nine men

A succession of disclosures has linked the five men arrested for the burglary to the Nixon re-election committee, the Republican National Committee, local Republican organizations in Montgomery county and Miami, and even to the White House itself.

There were additional signs yesterday that up to nine men may have been involved, that they may have been planning the burglary for at least a month and that they may have been successful in planting some electronic devices.

Yesterday afternoon, FBI agents showed Democratic staff members pictures of visitors to the party headquarters.

The investigation is taking on all the aspects of a first-rate mystery as large numbers of local and federal agents pursue the probe in Miami and Washington.

And the cloak-and-dagger aspect of the tale is not lessened by the fact that the principal characters were initially recruited by the Eisenhower administration to organize the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

A number of those with direct or indirect links to the case were employed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The number of investigating agencies is continuing to proliferate, with the Justice Department, the FBI, the District of Columbia Police Department and the United States attorney's office, private security

agencies in Washington and Miami and assorted other agents in Miami, all taking a piece of the action.

A spokesman for the Justice Department said the "leading role" in the case is being played by Harold H. Titus, Jr., U.S. attorney here. Mr. Titus has put his principal assistant, Earl J. Silbert, in charge of the probe.

Evidence gathered by investigators will be presented to a federal grand jury here.

The five defendants, one from Rockville, Md., and four from Miami, are being held in jail here on charges of second-degree burglary and interfering with federal communications.

John Wilson, a Justice Department public information officer, said the FBI role in the case is based on possible involvement of a section of Title 3 of the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act that prohibits "unauthorized electronic surveillance."

The law, Mr. Wilson said, also prohibits "endeavors" at wiretapping and makes it illegal to possess certain types of electronic equipment.

One of the innumerable unanswered questions is why the five defendants have not posted bail, which was set at \$30,000 for the Rockville man and \$50,000 for the Floridians. They probably could win release by putting up only 10 per cent of the full bond.

Mr. O'Brien said yesterday that the party headquarters does contain confidential files. He gave as examples communications with people around the country, plans for the fall campaign and lists of key workers.

But other Democratic sources said the bulk of the confidential files were in the offices of the treasurer or in Mr. O'Brien's personal office, and neither of them had been entered by the burglars.

Moreover, one source questioned whether the kind of files mentioned by Mr. O'Brien would be worth the "astoundingly large risk" involved in entering a press to them.

There were at least three theories being bandied about:

that the raid had been ordered by someone in the White House, the re-election committee or the Republican party; that an "overzealous underling" organized the raid without authorization, or that some Democrat had staged the raid to embarrass the Republicans.

None of the three theories, however, has won many adherents. And no one has yet come up with a more plausible version.

With the facts still unclear, the issue appears to be moving simultaneously into the political and legal arenas, both of which were detectable in Mr. O'Brien's press conference yesterday.

He said he is asking for \$100,000 in compensatory damages and \$900,000 in punitive damages.

The civil suit, filed yesterday in federal district court here, names as defendants the re-election committee, the five arrested men and McCord Associates, Inc., a Rockville security company operated by one of those arrested.

Without actually stating that the White House or the Nixon campaign committee had ordered the raid, Mr. O'Brien suggested that they probably had done so and charged the Republicans with "gutter politics."

Although who ordered the raid and why remains a mystery, there is a mounting volume of evidence linking the defendants to the Republican party.

James W. McCord, Jr., a 53-year-old resident of Rockville, was at the time of the Saturday raid the top security official for both the Nixon re-election committee and the Republican Na-

tional Committee. In addition, his company was under contract to the re-election committee.

Until two years ago, he worked for the CIA.

A lieutenant colonel in the Air Force reserves, he was until recently a member of a small top-secret military group that compiles lists of radicals and makes plans for censorship should a world war break out.

He is reported to have worked for Republicans in local elections in Montgomery county.

Among his other recent activities, he flew down to Miami to

make security preparations for the Republican National Convention. The same hotels visited by Mr. McCord will be used by the Democratic National Convention five weeks earlier.

Some reports depict Mr. McCord as the leader of the five men arrested at the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate office building early Saturday.

## Bay of Pigs participant

But others believe the leader to be Bernard L. Barker, a partner in a Miami real estate agency.

An American of Cuban birth, he is described as an important participant in the Bay of Pigs invasion. One report said he was the top aide to Bender, the alias used by the CIA agent who ran the clandestine operation.

Mr. Barker's partner in the real estate agency ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Miami as a Republican, and he is said to have been the liaison man between the Cuban community and former Republican Gov. Claude Kirk.

One of the defendants is reputed to be wealthy and another well off.

The bugging incident clearly has Republicans worried and defensive.

## Turning away questions

At the White House, the Justice Department, and the re-election committee routine requests for appointments and information have been pigeonholed for hours or days while public relations men concentrate on the bugging incident.

Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, continued yesterday to turn away questions in an apparent effort to keep the President as far removed from the case as possible.

"This is something the President will not get personally involved in," he said yesterday at a regular White House briefing for reporters.

He refused to comment on the O'Brien suit, but John M. Mitchell, the President's campaign director, denounced it as

"sheer demagoguery" and a "political stunt."

President's Florida home, Mr. Ziegler had seemed to put pri-

STATINTL

continued

# Ex-Consultant to Nixon Counsel Sought by FBI in Bugging Case

BY JACK NELSON

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Howard E. Hunt Jr., a former consultant to presidential counsel Charles W. Colson, was sought for questioning Tuesday by FBI agents investigating the attempted bugging of Democratic National Committee offices here.

The name and telephone number of Hunt, a former CIA official who reportedly was the CIA's director of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, were found in the address books of two of five suspects arrested at gunpoint in the Democratic offices at the time of the bugging. Hunt dropped from sight after refusing to discuss the incident.

Robert F. Bennett, president of a public relations company where Hunt is employed as a writer, said Hunt left Washington for New York Monday after assuring him that he "was nowhere around" the Democratic offices at the time of the bugging attempt.

Meantime, Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien filed a \$1 million damage suit against the Committee to Reelect the President, the suspects in the case and others.

O'Brien contended the break-in was an invasion of privacy and that the Democrats' civil rights had been violated. He charged that the break-in had a "clear line of direction" to the Committee to Reelect the President and that there was a "developing clear line to the White House."

Former Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell, chairman of the Committee to Reelect the President, called the Democrats' lawsuit a political stunt. He said it "represents another exam-

ple of sheer demagoguery on the part of Mr. O'Brien."

Bennett said that after FBI agents questioned him about Hunt, he tried without success to find him in the office of a New York client Hunt had planned to visit. Bennett said he left word in the office for Hunt to return to his Washington office by this morning or be suspended from his public relations job.

Hunt joined the public relations company about two years ago, listing as references Colson, the director Richard Helms and

columnist William F. Buckley. The company is located on Pennsylvania Ave. across the street from the Executive Office Building, where Hunt maintained an office as a parttime consultant to Colson. He held the consultant post for about a year, until last March.

Cuban sources in Miami have been quoted as saying that Hunt met with one of the suspects arrested in the case, Bernard L. Barker, about two weeks ago in Miami.

## Invasion Preparations

Barker, a Florida real estate dealer, allegedly worked under Hunt in the preparations for the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion.

Bennett confirmed that Hunt also was an acquaintance of another of the suspects, James W. McCord, a former CIA official who served as security director of the Committee to Reelect the President and for the Republican National Committee. Both committees deplored the bugging attempt and fired McCord.

McCord was among those named in O'Brien's lawsuit.

U.S. Atty. Harold H. Titus Jr. of the District of Columbia said the FBI and the police were cooperating in an investigation of the "burglary and the attempted bugging offenses" and that a federal grand jury would be convened to hear evidence.

Police have said that a sixth suspect may have participated in the bugging attempt and managed to elude arresting officers.

Bennett, who described Hunt as "quite interested" in Republican politics, said he would be shocked if he learned that the writer had anything to do with the bugging attempt.

Hunt, 53, served with the CIA from 1949 to 1970, developing and guiding media operations abroad and negotiating with senior officials of foreign countries. He has described himself as a senior member of special task forces during two periods of national crises and as a participant in White House conferences on security matters.

In Who's Who, Hunt listed 42 novels written under three pseudonyms — Robert Dietrich, John Baxter and Gordon Davis.

Meanwhile, Republican National Committee officials said they knew little about McCord's company — McCord Associates, Inc. of Rockville, Md.—which the committee hired for security work. They said they did not know the identity of other officers of the company or of other clients.

Records in the Maryland secretary of state's office show that the company was not incorporated until Nov. 10, 1971 — several weeks after it signed a contract with the committee.

Directors were listed as McCord and his wife and Dorothy N. Berry of Houston. Mrs. Berry, an oil company employe, told a reporter she was Mr. McCord's sister but that she knew nothing of the company and that she did not know she was listed as a director.

Under Maryland law a company must list three directors when it is incorporated.

The company's corporate charter mentions nothing about security work but lists the company's

purpose as "business services, studies, analyses, reports in connection with business, industry, academic institutions."

The company, which is not licensed to perform security services — as required by law—failed to file its 1972 tax return with the secretary of state's office by the April 15 deadline.

STATINTL

# Demo raid probed here

FBI agents in Miami have fanned out in an "extensive investigation" into the background and activities of the four Miami men who were among five men arrested in Washington, D.C., and charged with breaking into the Democratic National Committee headquarters last weekend.

Kenneth Whittaker, special agent in charge of the Miami FBI office, said: "We are conducting an extensive investigation and have interviewed many persons in Miami, including members of the Miami Cuban colony. This is in cooperation with the headquarters office of the FBI in Washington.

"That office is directing the investigation, of course, since the alleged crime took place in that jurisdiction."

Whittaker said no arrests have been made here. "What we are seeking to determine here in Miami is whether any federal law has been violated here and whether any conspiracy exists," he said.

Spanish-speaking FBI agents have been spreading through Miami's Little Havana section, seeking information and interviewing friends and relatives of the four suspects who were arrested in Washington.

The FBI has questioned Miguel (Mike) A. Suarez, a business associate of Bernard L. Barker. Barker was one of the men arrested in Washington.

Max Lesnik, editor of the Spanish-language magazine Replica and newspaper of the same name, said he also was questioned by the FBI but that the questioning was "very informal."

There is no evidence to indicate that Lesnik or Suarez was involved in the break-in.

Other Miami men arrested in the Washington raid were Frank Fiorini, also known as Frank Sturgis; Eugenio R. Martinez, and Virgilio R. Gonzales.

The fifth member of the group was James McCord,

who at that time was the security coordinator for the committee to re-elect President Nixon.

All five have figured in Cuban revolutionary activities and at least three have had links with the CIA.

The names of a sixth person, E. Howard Hunt, a former consultant to a high White House official, has also been injected into the mysterious case. Hunt's name and home telephone number were written in address books carried by Martinez and Barker.

Hunt reportedly was second in command of the Cuban arm of the CIA which plotted the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

In Washington, a police inventory of items in the suspects' possession was released, and it raised the question of whether one or more of them might have been planning a trip abroad.

Among the items was said to be Page 4D of the June 15 edition of The Miami News. An item on that page report-

edly was circled, but which one was not revealed.

A check of that edition in The Miami News' file showed that the entire page in question was half of a two-page Pan Am advertisement offering "a whole week in the Bahamas for \$94."

If the circled item was on the opposite side of the sheet — Page 3D — it would have been an article on safe driving in Florida or one of eight travel ads, including cruises to Europe and the Caribbean, air travel to South America and Luxembourg and a "sun-and-fun break to Haiti."

# Ex-G.O.P. Aide Rebuffs F.B.I. Queries on Break-In

STATINTL

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20—E. Howard Hunt Jr., former part-time White House consultant, has refused to answer questions by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in connection with last Saturday's break-in at the Democratic National Committee offices here.

Informed sources said that Mr. Hunt had been approached a number of times by F.B.I. agents, but declined to answer their questions.

The F.B.I. subpoenaed some of the records of Washington's Watergate Hotel, where four of the five suspects stayed before their arrest inside the Democratic offices early Saturday. Federal agents in Miami interrogated several business and personal associates of the group's suspected leader.

Meanwhile the Democratic party chairman, Lawrence F. O'Brien, announced this morn-

ing a \$1-million civil lawsuit against the Committee to Re-elect the President and the five suspects on grounds of invasion of privacy and the violation of civil rights of the Democrats.

Mr. O'Brien, speaking at a news conference, described the break-in, which was ostensibly to plant listening devices, as a "blatant act of political espionage."

John N. Mitchell, the former Attorney General who is now President Nixon's campaign director, issued shortly thereafter a statement charging that the lawsuit "represents another example of sheer demagoguery on the part of Mr. O'Brien."

"I reiterate that this committee did not authorize and does not condone the alleged actions of the five men apprehended there," Mr. Mitchell said. "We deplore such activity."

At the White House, Ronald L. Ziegler, the press secretary, told newsmen that Charles W. Colson, special counsel to the President on whose recommendation Mr. Hunt was hired as a consultant, has "assured me that he has in no way been involved in this matter."

Washington police officials said that the consensus among the "law enforcement people"

was that the break-in was not a well-financed operation planned from "up high," because it was "bungled too badly to have been the case."

Mr. Hunt, who worked at the White House in 1971 and this year after retiring from a top post with the Central Intelligence Agency, was said by Cuban sources to have met about two weeks ago in Miami with Bernard L. Barker, a wealthy realtor in that city, who is suspected of directing the attempt to install secret listening devices at the Democratic headquarters.

Mr. Barker was an aide to Mr. Hunt during the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. Mr. Hunt's name and home telephone number were found in address books in possession of Mr. Barker and Eugenio R. Martinez, another of the suspects, when the police arrested them at gunpoint in the Democratic offices. Mr. Martinez is employed at Mr. Barker's Miami real estate company.

## Attempts Unavailing

Although Mr. Hunt was reached by telephone at his suburban Maryland home on Sunday, subsequent attempts to talk to him have been unavailing.

Robert F. Bennett, president of the Robert R. Mullen Company, a Washington public relations concern employing Mr. Hunt as a full-time writer, said in an interview this afternoon that Mr. Hunt could not be found.

Mr. Bennett said that F.B.I. agents came to the offices of his company, at 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, yesterday morning looking for Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Bennett said that he found a message from Mr. Hunt this morning saying he had gone to New York for the day in connection with a television project in which the company is engaged. But, Mr. Bennett said, he could not reach him there.

"If he doesn't report to work here tomorrow morning, I'll suspend him from his job," Mr. Bennett said.

Mr. Hunt's home was telephoned yesterday and today the person answering said that he was out of town.

Mr. Ziegler confirmed that Mr. Hunt had been a part-time White House consultant in the "intelligence" and "the flow of

narcotics," but stressed that "we don't know where Mr. Hunt has been because he has not been involved in a consulting capacity with the White House since March."

Mr. Ziegler said that President Nixon was not concerned "about any allegation of the committing of a crime" and that "the appropriate investigations of that are taking place."

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Republican National Committee, denied through a spokesman published reports in The New York Times that he had sent a telegram yesterday to his committee's members urging them to refrain from discussing the break-in with outsiders.

But the spokesman said that an "inter-office memo" was signed by Tom Wolck, the committee's director of communications, instructing his staff to refer all inquiries to him. The memorandum was addressed to Senator Dole.

The Watergate Hotel management said that the F.B.I. had "subpoenaed certain guest records." Other informants said that investigators hoped to determine, among other things, who had paid the bills for the suspects' rooms.

Mr. O'Brien said earlier that nine persons from Miami, apparently including the men captured Saturday morning, stayed at the Watergate between May 26 and 29.

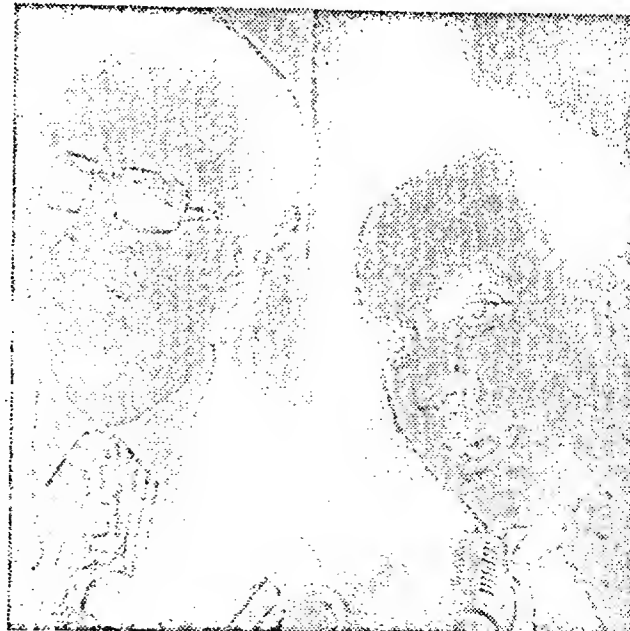
The Democratic National Committee had reported that on the night of May 28 an attempt had been made to break into their offices, which are situated in a building adjoining the hotel.

A spokesman for the hotel said, however, that "we have been advised by the Federal authorities not to say any more" on the subject.

Of the five men arrested at the Democratic offices, four were from Miami and the fifth was James W. McCord, a security specialist for both the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-elect the President. Mr. McCord is not believed to have stayed at the hotel on either occasion.

## All in C.I.A. Operations

In addition to Mr. Barker and Mr. Martinez, the other Miami-based suspects were Frank Sturgis and Virgilio R. Gonzales. All of them, along with Mr. Hunt and Mr. McCord, had been involved in the C.I.A.'s Cuban operations in 1961.



Associated Press

Lawrence F. O'Brien, left, Democratic party chairman, and Joseph A. Califano Jr., counsel announcing the suit against the Committee to Re-elect the President.

continued

LEDGER-STAR  
JUN 21 1972

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# Hunt also author of spy thrillers

By WAYNE WOODLIEF  
Ledger-Star Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—E. Howard Hunt Jr., the part-time White House consultant whose name has cropped up in the investigation of the weekend breakin at the Democratic National Committee Headquarters, is an ex-CIA agent who, according to a friend, wrote dozens of James Bond-style spy thrillers.

Frank Sturgis, alias Frank Fiorini, a Norfolk native, associated with the anti-Castro movement, is among the five men being held in the District of Columbia jail, charged with burglarizing the DNC headquarters.

Hunt has worked for the past two years for the Washington public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen and Co., according to the firm's president, Robert F. Bennett.

Bennett confirmed Tuesday that Hunt joined the firm after about 20 years with the CIA. He said Hunt had been "moonlighting" for the past year, with Bennett's permission, for White House special counsel Charles Colson, principally declassifying Defense Department documents in the wake of last year's "Pentagon Papers" disclosures.

Bennett said Hunt left Washington Tuesday morning for a public relations assignment in New York.

"I've been trying to reach him," Bennett said. "I'd like him to show up and start answering some of these questions himself."

He said he had left a message with the New York client "that if Howard doesn't show up Wednesday, I will suspend him from the payroll."

Who's Who lists Hunt as a native of Hamburg, N. Y., born in 1918. The publication also describes him as a one-time movie script writer, an editor for the 1940's March of Time newsreels, a war correspondent for Life

magazine and an "attache" or "political officer" for U. S. embassies or similar outposts in France, Austria, Mexico and the Far East.

Bennett said "Those titles are covers for CIA work."

Who's Who also notes that Hunt has written 42 novels, under the pen names of Robert Dietrich, John Baxter and Gordon Davis.

"Howard's always fancied himself something of an Ian Fleming," said a friend of Hunt. Fleming, now dead, wrote the James Bond novels. "Howard enjoys spinning tables about spies and their escapades."

Bennett said Hunt is an acquaintance of Douglas Caddy, the Washington corporation lawyer who represented the five burglary suspects after their arrest.

Caddy, according to Washington newspapers, has been associated with Republican politics for 20 years and was one of the founders of the Conservative Young Americans for Freedom.

The Mullen public relations firm had done some work for the General Foods Corp. at a time when Caddy represented the corporation, Bennett said.

"Caddy was in the office, representing General Foods, and that's when he and Howard met," Bennett said.

Caddy lives in an apartment building in the 2100 block of 2121 P. St., in Washington, about a block from the intersection of 20th St. and Mass. Avenue. Washington police reported finding, in an auto rented by the burglary suspects, a city map with a route marked from the Watergate Building, where the DNC headquarters are located, to the 20th St.-Mass. Ave. intersection.

A woman who identified herself as Hunt's daughter answered the telephone at his home in Washington's Maryland suburbs Tuesday night, and said only, "no comment."

Bennett said Hunt never told him that he had helped plan the Bay of Pigs affair. But, Bennett said, "he spun tales about the CIA the way an FBI man tells stories about John Dillinger."

21 JUN 1972

STATINTL

# DEM HQ BUG WAS BEING REMOVED

By PATRICK COLLINS  
and DAN THOMASSON

The five men charged with the Saturday burglary of the Democratic National Committee Headquarters did not sneak in to bug the offices, but to remove "dead bugs" that had been planted earlier.

Highly placed police sources said there is "every indication" that the so-called bugs—all of which were found in the men's possession, rather than in spying position—"may have been there for some time."

Disclosure of this possibility coupled with other developments yesterday added a new dimension to an increasingly convoluted case which clearly is embarrassing Republicans from Congress to the White House where the name of a top aide to President Nixon has become involved.

On at least two other occasions prior to Saturday's raid, police said, offices of prominent Democratic party members in the Watergate Complex have been "tampered with." And police today believe there may have been one successful attempt to bug the inner sanctum of the Democratic Party.

On May 16 a law firm actively involved in the Democratic Party was broken into in the same way in which Saturday's raiding party slithered thru Democratic headquarters.

The firm of Freed, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman, located at 1000 15th St. N.W.,

the Watergate Building at 600 New Hampshire-av. n.w., the same complex as the Democratic Committee suites, had its door jimmied.

On that day, police said, a guard found the doors of the basement garage taped to prevent them from closing, the same technique used by the crew in Saturday's burglary.

On May 28, police said the door of a prominent Democratic official was "tampered with," and it is rumored that some tape was also used in this attempted burglary. Police have also disclosed that from May 26 thru May 29 the five men arrested Saturday were lodged at the Watergate Hotel and apparently met with four other men, who were registered there under assumed names.

Reportedly, there were two other tries at breaking into the Democratic National Committee offices last month, but party officials said they didn't think much of the incidences because nothing was taken.

Police sources said the bugs found on the men arrested Saturday—there were at least three sending devices found—telephone and room conversations can transmit about 150 yards. The police found no receivers either in the headquarters offices or in the hotel rooms that had been rented by the suspects, police sources said it would be possible to receive signals from the bugs in a car parked or driving near the Watergate buildings.

When they were arrested, the five men had in their possession—or in their hotel rooms—burglary tools, a walkie-talkie, a short wave receiver that could pick up police calls, 40 rolls of unexposed film, two 35 millimeter cameras and three pen-sized tear gas guns.

Police then said several file cabinet drawers in the office were open, and officers theorized that the men planned to photograph papers from the files.

Sources in Miami, where all five suspects have ties, said they believe one possible motive for the bugging was the increasing fear of some Cuban refugee leaders that election of a Democratic President, particularly Sen. George S. McGovern, might mean a change in U.S. policy toward Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

The Miami sources also said Howard E. Hunt, a Washington public relations man and part-time White House consultant, was believed to have served as a Nixon administration link with the huge Cuban exile community in Florida.

The sources speculated that Mr. Hunt, who reportedly worked for the CIA in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, was asked by the White House to help gather intelligence on Castro agents who have infiltrated the exile organizations.

They said administration officials have been concerned for some time about Castro agents, partly because of the amount of time the Pres-



# Cast of Characters Involved in Democratic Office Bugging Case

STATINTL

By Bart Barnes

Washington Post Staff Writer

Here is the list of principal individuals who have emerged following the attempt early Saturday to bug the Democratic National Committee headquarters.

## Howard E. Hunt

Hunt, an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1949 to 1970, last worked as a consultant to the White House on March 29 of this year.

Hunt's name and telephone number were listed in two address books seized by police from two of the five suspect arrested in the bugging attempt.

Hunt's consulting work at the White House involved declassification of the Pentagon Papers and, more recently, intelligence work in the area of narcotics enforcement.

Currently, Hunt is a writer with the public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen & Co., 1700 Pennsylvania Ave. NW.

Hunt lives at 11120 River Rd. in a large, white wooden frame house in a sparsely populated and affluent section of Potomac in suburban Montgomery County.

The nearest house is 150 yards away. Neighbors knew little about him. A sign out front says "Beward of Dog" and another sign near a mailbox says "Witches Island."

No one answered a knock on the door and Hunt was reported not at work yesterday.

## Charles Wendell Colson

Colson, 40, special counsel to the President. Colson, a Bostonian and a lawyer, has been described by White House officials as "a doer, a tough-minded ambitious man who gets things done."

A one-time administrative assistant to former Massachusetts Sen. Leverett Saltonstall

(R) Colson was said in 1970 to have worked with a Life magazine reporter on an article charging that former Maryland Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D) used the prestige of his office to promote the interests of a company in which he held stock.

Tydings was cleared of the charges after the November election, which he lost, and Colson has always had no comment on the issue.

Colson, said to be a specialist in delicate assignments for the President, signed on Howard E. Hunt in 1971 as a special consultant at \$100 a day. Hunt and Colson, both alumni of Brown University, are said to have met in 1966 when both were active in the Washington chapter of the Brown alumni club.

## James W. McCord Jr.

An employee for the Central Intelligence Agency for 19 years, McCord, now retired, was until Sunday the security coordinator for President Nixon's re-election committee.

McCord, also an ex-FBI agent, also held a contract to provide security services to the Republican National Committee. After retirement from the CIA, McCord established his own security consulting firm, McCord Associates in Rockville.

A resident of Rockville, McCord, 53, is active in the First Baptist Church of Washington. According to neighbors, he is from Texas where he and his wife graduated from Baylor University. They have three children, two daughters and a son who is in his third year at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

McCord is also a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve and was part of a unit whose duties included developing plans for compiling lists of radicals and developing plans for censorship of news

He was one of the five arrested inside the Democratic National Committee offices.

## Bernard L. Barker

Barker, 55, was born in Havana of one Cuban and one American parent. He grew up both in Cuba and in the United States and during World War II was a captain in the Army Air Corps. He was shot down over Germany and for 17 months was held as a prisoner of war.

In the late 1950s, Barker served under Castro's guerrilla movement in Cuba but he became disillusioned and fled to Miami in 1959. He is said to have been one of the organizers of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and is said to have been working for the CIA since then.

He is married and lives with his wife in Miami. A daughter, Maria Elena B. Moffet, works in Bethesda for the Prudential Insurance Co. of America.

About a year ago, Barker started a real estate firm, Barker Associates, in Miami. An auto rented here by the suspects in the bugging was rented in the name of Barker Associates.

Barker was one of five arrested inside the Democratic National Committee offices.

## Frank Sturgis

Sturgis, 37, was born in Norfolk, Va., as Frank A. Fiorini but changed his name in 1952 when his mother married Ralph Sturgis.

Known in Cuban exile circles in Miami as having extensive CIA contacts, Sturgis has been described in news accounts as a soldier of fortune.

An ex-Marine, he joined Castro in the hills of Oriente Province in 1958 and was later named to oversee gambling operations in Havana after the revolution succeeded in January, 1959.

Later that year, however, there was a falling out and Sturgis fled Cuba for Miami where he has been active in Castro affairs since.

According to the Miami Herald, Sturgis was arrested in waters off British Honduras with 12 companions during what Sturgis said was a voyage to make a commando raid in Cuba. The Mexican captain of the boat, however, said Sturgis had hijacked the craft.

Sturgis was one of the five suspects arrested inside the Democratic National Committee offices.

## Eugene Martinez

A real estate agent and a notary public, Martinez has been active in the anti-Castro movement in Miami. A Cuban native, he originally sided with Castro against Batista but then fled the country after the revolution succeeded.

About two weeks ago he tried to line up housing at the University of Miami for 3,000 Young Republicans who will be attending the Republican National Convention there this summer.

Martinez is a salesman in the real estate office of another suspect, Bernard L. Barker. Martinez was one of the five suspects arrested inside the Democratic National Committee offices Saturday.

## Virgilio R. Gonzalez

The fifth suspect to be arrested inside the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate, Gonzalez is a locksmith by trade and, according to a motion in court for a reduction of his bond, has been steadily employed for some years.

He lives in Miami with his wife and children and works at the Missing Link Key Shop. According to his employer, he came to the United States sometime around the time Castro became well-known and he has worked at the Missing Link since 1959. He has been described as "pro-American and anti-Castro."

## Douglas Caddy

Caddy, 34, is a lawyer with the firm of Gall, Lane, Powell

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# FBI Questions Novelist-Agent

By JAMES DOYLE

Star Staff Writer

Howard Hunt Jr. of Potomac was due to be suspended by his employers today if he did not explain whether he has any connection to the "Watergate caper" that has launched a burgeoning investigation of who tried to bug the Democratic National Committee and why.

Hunt, a former CIA agent who has been working for the White House from time to time as a consultant and for a public relations firm with strong Republican ties, was interviewed by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents at his Potomac home, but he reportedly shed no light on the investigation.

## Gave Top References

The novelist and intelligence agent, who helped run the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, listed the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, a top White House assistant and conservative columnist William F. Buckley as references when he sought work as a writer with Robert R. Mullen & Co. in 1970.

He was hired by the Mullen public relations firm with the endorsement of CIA Director Richard Helms. Subsequently he was given added work as a consultant on declassification of secret documents by another friend, Charles W. Colson, a White House operative who handles sensitive political chores for President Nixon.

Hunt's name has surfaced during the investigation following the early morning break-in Saturday at the Watergate office of the Democratic National Committee, where five men, with various links to the CIA, were arrested at gunpoint during an apparent attempt to copy documents and plant surveillance microphones.

## Flurry of Questions

Democrats have called the case an act of political espionage. Republicans have denied involvement.

Hunt's name, with the notation "House", was found in the address books of two of those

arrested. They are Eugenio R. Martinez, an anti-Castro Cuban, and Bernard L. Barker, said to be a top aide to Hunt at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion. They and 3 others suspects are being held in lieu of bail.

The address book notations, together with Hunt's ties to CIA Director Helms and White House aide Charles Colson, have raised a flurry of new unanswered questions which the White House turned aside, and which Hunt was not available to answer.

Another indirect link between Hunt and the suspects was the lawyer called into the case Saturday by the wife of Barker. Douglas Caddy, who acted as Barker's lawyer during his arraignment, was described as a friend of Hunt's by the president of the public relations firm where Hunt works.

Caddy had office space in that firm up until two years ago, the firm's president said.

His present employers, the Mullen Co., were also unable to shed any light on Hunt's possible involvement or his whereabouts.

## Walkie-talkies

Robert F. Bennett, the son of Utah Republican Sen. Wallace F. Bennett and head of the firm, announced that Hunt would be suspended this morning if he did not show up and explain his role, if any, in the Watergate caper.

Bennett said he asked Hunt about reports that he was connected to the Watergate raiding party when he last saw him Monday afternoon. He quoted Hunt as replying, "I was nowhere near that place Saturday."

Police have been seeking a sixth and perhaps a seventh man who, they theorize, may have manned a walkie-talkie they found in a room the suspects had rented in the Watergate Hotel. Police also feel the men may have replaced tape on the doors to the office which had been removed by a security guard who found that the doors had been prevented from locking.

The FBI is also looking in the case. Investigators said

they knew of no motives for the break-in and attempted surveillance.

## Not Normal Style

One of the arrested men, James W. McCord, was under contract to both the Committee for the Re-election of the President and the Republican National Committee to handle their security problems. He was a recent retiree from the CIA, and he set up a private company in Rockville around the time he received the two Republican contracts.

Spokesmen at the committees said McCord came more highly recommended, and with a better background in security matters, than any other applicant for the jobs. Others who know McCord, who taught security courses at a local college and was active in the military reserves as a training officer, also reported that a clandestine midnight raid was not his normal style.

Hunt has a mysterious background as a CIA operative for 20 years and as a participant in some past operations such as the Bay of Pigs.

While no connection has been made between him and the case, he has ties to both the high White House aide and to members of the anti-Castro Cuban community.

He and Colson shared duties in the Brown University Club of Washington, and Colson hired Hunt as a consultant to the White House. Hunt and Barker worked closely together during the Bay of Pigs, the New York Times reported.

The Times reported that two weeks ago Hunt visited Barker in Miami, where the latter runs a real estate agency.

FBI agents were reportedly scouring the Cuban community in Miami for more information about the suspects.

Columnist Jack Anderson, who visited one of the suspects in jail, said that the Miami men were working for Barker, and that Barker brought McCord into the group for the Watergate affair.

Anderson said, that all of the suspects had past links with the CIA and that some veter-

believed to have stashed away some of the CIA funds distributed at that time.

He said he had received a tip some months ago that members of the Cuban community in Miami were planning to bug the Democratic National Committee, but that he did not follow it through because "I receive tips about the Cubans all the time. Any time three of them get together they create a conspiracy."

In a related development, the staff director of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights said today he is checking into the operations of a military reserve unit of the Office of Emergency Preparedness that develops procedures for mail censorship during wartime.

## Asking Questions

Published reports about the unit appeared this week when it was disclosed that McCord is a former member.

Larry Baskir, head of the subcommittee staff, said that he is making "a few phone calls" about the unit's operation but had no new information to report and no speculation of whether there will be a committee investigation.

A public affairs officer for the OEP, Donald Carbone, confirmed yesterday that McCord was a member of the unit but denied reports that the 15-member group also prepared lists of "radicals" as well.

McCord, who was chief security officer for the Committee to Re-elect the President, is listed by the Pentagon as a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve.

For about two years, a Pentagon spokesman said, McCord has been in Detachment 23, based in Washington, of the 1st Censorship Squadron, whose headquarters are at Fort Totten, New York.

The detachment includes members of the Army and Navy as well, the spokesman said, and undergoes training in the kind of censorship of mail that was imposed in the United States during World War II.

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# Photos Seen Break-In Clue

By J. THEODORE CROWN  
and JAMES DOYLE

Star Staff Writers

District police officials today disclosed they have sent some photographs to Miami, Fla., amid indications that the pictures might lead to an early break in the investigation of Saturday's break-in at the Democratic National Committee.

Inspector Ernest J. Prete, in charge of the case for the Washington police force, said certain photos were sent off to Miami today. He would not divulge whether the pictures are of possible new suspects in the case or were taken from exposed film seized from the five suspects already under arrest.

Neither was it disclosed whether the photos had been sent to the Miami police or to the Federal Bureau of Investigation field office there. There are strong indications that the FBI has taken over the major portion of the investigation into the case despite the absence of any federal charge or warrant.

Prete said, "We could get the big break in the case today." Reporters took this to mean that Prete anticipates discovering the identity of the sixth individual believed to have taken part in the Watergate Hotel break-in, or discovery of the mastermind police have deduced was behind the intrusion into the National Committee headquarters.

Meanwhile, the president of the public relations firm that employs Howard E. Hunt Jr. announced today that Hunt was suspended because he has not reported to the company since the possibility he was connected with some of the arrested men was disclosed.

Robert F. Bennett, the son of Republican Sen. Wallace Bennett of Utah and president of Robert R. Mullen & Co., announced today that Hunt was out of touch for a second day and that he was being sought to explain any possible connection to the incident.

Bennett said he asked Hunt about reports that he was connected to the Watergate raiding party when he

last saw him Monday afternoon. He quoted Hunt as replying, "I was nowhere near that place Saturday."

Hunt, a former CIA agent who has been working for the White House from time to time as a consultant and for a public relations firm with strong Republican ties, was interviewed by FBI agents at his Potomac home, but he reportedly shed no light on the investigation.

Hunt's name surfaced during the investigation following the early morning break-in Saturday at the Democratic National Committee, where five men, with various links to the CIA, were arrested at gunpoint during an apparent attempt to copy documents and plant surveillance microphones.

Some consideration was being given at police headquarters to a theory that the intruders might have broken into the Democratic offices Saturday to remove bugging devices implanted there previously. Inspector Ernest J. Prete said, however, this was only one of a number of ideas voiced by investigators as possible explanations for the sequence of events. Based on present knowledge, Prete said, this concept of the motivation is regarded only as speculation.

Democrats have called the case an act of political espionage. Republicans have denied involvement.

Hunt's name, with the notation "W House," was found in the address books of two of these arrested. They are Eugenio R. Martinez, an anti-Castro Cuban, and Bernard L. Barker, said to be a top aide to Hunt at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion. They and three other suspects are being held in lieu of bail.

## Gave Top References

Hunt, a novelist and intelligence agent who helped run the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, listed the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, a top White House assistant and conservative col-

umnist William F. Buckley as references when he sought work as a writer with Robert R. Mullen & Co. in 1970.

He was hired by the Mullen public relations firm with the endorsement of CIA Director Richard Helms. Subsequently he was given added work as a consultant on declassification of secret documents by another friend, Charles W. Colson, a White House operative who handles sensitive political chores for President Nixon.

The address book notations, together with Hunt's ties to CIA Director Helms and White House aide Colson, have raised a flurry of new unanswered questions which the White House turned aside, and which Hunt was not available to answer.

Another indirect link between Hunt and the suspects was the lawyer called into the case Saturday by the wife of Barker. Douglas Caddy, who acted as Barker's lawyer during his arraignment, was described as a friend of Hunt's by the president of the public relations firm where Hunt works.

Caddy had office space in that firm up until two years ago, the firm's president said.

## Analyzing Reports

Meanwhile, the Washington police began an analysis of records and reports in an attempt to determine whether earlier burglaries and attempted break-ins at the Watergate correspond to dates on which some of the suspects had been registered at the hotel previously. Investigators have determined that four of the five suspects were registered at the Watergate between May 26 and 29.

Inspector Ernest J. Prete, who is in charge of Metropolitan Police coordination of the entire Watergate case, has assigned Detective Sergt. Thomas Riley to compile a list of all break-ins at the Watergate since April 1 to match against dates when suspects were known to be here before.

A new report of an old burglary came to police yesterday when a law firm with Demo-

cratic party ties and on the 16th floor of the Watergate, Freed, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman.

The firm told police yesterday their offices were broken into May 13, but the incident was not reported then because nothing appeared to be missing. At that time, it was said, the burglary was not thought of in terms of political spying.

Members of the firm include Sargent Shriver, a Democratic political adviser and brother-in-law in the Kennedy family; Max Kampelman, a counselor to Sen. Hubert Humphrey; and Patricia Harris, chairman of the Credentials Committee for the Democratic National Convention.

Police records also show that someone attempted to remove locks from the national committee offices on the sixth floor at the Watergate on May 28. The Watergate and surrounding area is a prime attraction to burglars and more than 160 larcenies have occurred in the area in recent months, police said.

Inspector Prete said Riley's task is to try to pinpoint dates and times of other robberies and attempts in relation to known presence of the suspects in the Watergate.

Police have been seeking a sixth and perhaps a seventh man who, they theorize, may have manned a walkie-talkie they found in a room the suspects had rented in the Watergate Hotel. Police also feel the man may have replaced tape on the doors to the office which had been removed by a security guard who found that the doors had been prevented from locking.

One of the arrested men, James W. McCord, was under contract to both the Committee for the Re-election of the President and the Republican National Committee to handle their security problems. He was a recent recruit from the CIA, and he set up a private company in Rockville around the time he received the two Republican contracts.

Spokesmen at the committees said McCord came more and more into contact with

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# A 'Mission Impossible' of politics

The attempted bugging and burglarizing of Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington by some former CIA agents at one time in the employ of the Committee for the Re-election of the President reads like a script from the tv show "Mission Impossible."

Five men, including three who were involved in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, were caught in the act Saturday by plainclothes Washington police who'd been called by a security guard.

They were wearing rubber surgical gloves and carried elaborate eavesdropping devices, photographic equipment and kits of sophisticated burglar tools.

Former Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell, now chairman of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, said the men "were not operating either in our behalf or with our consent."

Sen. Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., chairman of the Republican National Committee, said the actions of the group "were not on our behalf nor with our consent."

What coincidental phraseology! It reminds us of the line

on the self-destruct tape at the opening of the "Mission Impossible" shows: "... the Secretary will disavow all knowledge of your activities."

One of the principals seized was identified as James W. McCord of Rockville, Md., who resigned from the CIA in August 1970 and operated his own security business.

Mitchell acknowledged the Committee for the Re-election of the President had employed McCord "some months ago" to help set up a security system.

But a report filed June 10 with the General Accounting Office, as required by a new campaign expenditures disclosure law, listed the last payment to McCord as May 25 — less than a month ago.

Sen. Dole also acknowledged that McCord had done some work for the Republican National Committee, but he didn't say when.

Another member of the covert raiding party was identified as Bernard L. Barker, a Cuban-born U.S. citizen, now a Miami real estate operator who also was involved in the Bay of Pigs planning.

Of the other three, one was a locksmith — which may or may

not have significance — another also had had a minor role in the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the third was a real estate dealer.

We are inclined to look with jaundiced eye on the Mitchell and Dole denials. It is pushing credulity to assume the five suspects invaded the Democratic National Committee offices in the middle of the night just for kicks.

While burglary is not a crime to be taken lightly, the episode has a comic opera ring. These veterans of cloak-and-dagger activity were no more successful invading the Democratic National Committee than they were invading Cuba 11 years ago.

Also, this incident is just somewhat more bizarre — and a more serious infraction of the law — than similar attempts at infiltration that have taken place between the two political parties over the years.

We recall one incident in 1964 when the Democrats tried to plant a campaign worker, in other words, a spy, in the organization of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., the Republican presidential nominee.

He was caught and hustled out.

It is questionable whether Mitchell or Dole, or whoever was behind the burglary try, would have collected anything worthwhile if the bugging and file-photography had been successful.

As anyone who has worked a presidential campaign knows, most of the major decisions are not made at party headquarters, but among the staff of the candidate. The listening devices might have picked up some juicy gossip or indicators of internal dissension, but probably little else.

If we were to look for a mastermind, our quizzical stare would fix on Mitchell. First, he already has been caught stretching the truth. And second, he was a vigorous proponent of wiretapping and no-knock entry while he was attorney general.

Even if he had nothing whatsoever to do with it, we're sure the humorless Mitchell can't see the zany aspect of the operation.

After all, the Democrats probably were thinking of the same thing, but had not progressed far enough to get caught. Or they couldn't afford it.

STATINTL

# McCord Is Linked to Secret Service

By JAMES BUCHANAN  
And CLARK HOYT  
Herald Staff Writers

James W. McCord Jr., security chief for the Committee to Reelect the President, who was arrested after breaking into Democratic National Committee headquarters, may have been recommended for his post by the Secret Service, sources said Monday.

The Associated Press, which first discovered that the alleged burglar was an employe of the committee, said McCord was given the \$1,209-a-month position in January, reportedly at the suggestion of Al Wong, head of the Secret Service Technical Security Division.

McCord, 53, a former employe of both the FBI and the CIA, operates a private security agency in Rockwell, Md., as well as serving as a "security expert" for former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who now heads President Nixon's campaign forces.

NEITHER Wong nor an official spokesman for the Secret Service would confirm that the agent was acquainted with McCord or recommended him for the post.

Meanwhile, there were these other developments in the case, which saw the arrest of four Miami men as well as McCord in the Democrats' office on the sixth floor of the Watergate Office Building adjoining the plush Watergate Hotel:

● District of Columbia police said, "We've got things that point to a sixth man being involved," but admit they have no idea who it might be "if there was one at all."

● Lawrence O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said the party was considering court

action against anyone it can find who may have violated the First Amendment or the party's civil rights.

● The mystery continued as to where the five arrested men obtained between \$5,300 and \$6,500 in crisp \$100 bills which they carried during the operation and which are in consecutive serial numbers.

● A discovery that McCord had "recently" visited the Fontainebleau Hotel rooms to be occupied by the Republican National Committee in Miami Beach "to check on security" prompted the Democrats, who will use the same rooms first, to order them electronically "swept" as a precaution against eavesdropping.

The five arrested Saturday carried burglar tools, according to Washington detectives, and "old fashioned" electronic gear which could have been hidden in the Democrats' office to transmit conversations there for a distance of some 150 feet.

That would have been enough, officers said, to have reached the rooms in the adjoining Watergate Hotel, which the five suspects had rented under assumed names earlier in the week.

Police officials expressed amazement that the five arrested had been "so stupid" in their operation.

MAKING THEIR way from an outside entrance up to the sixth floor offices by way of a fire stairwell, the men had placed adhesive tape over each door latch so it would not lock and trap them inside.

A building security guard spotted the tape on two doors and removed it. On his next rounds, he found the same latches taped again and summoned police, who heard the men removing a wall panel in one of the main offices and made the arrests.

O'Brien, in announcing the Democrats' counsel was considering legal action, said, "There may have been other incidents before this."

Then, with a gibe at the Republicans, he added: "I thought this was a law-and-order administration."

President Nixon has refused to comment on the break-in and referred questions to John N. Mitchell, his campaign chairman and former attorney general.

Mitchell, in turn, has said only that the five men arrested were "not operating either on our behalf or with our consent."

But at the Florida White House on Key Biscayne, the chief executive's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, was drawn into a discussion of the incident with reporters Monday.

"OBVIOUSLY we don't condone that kind of second-rate activity," Ziegler said.

When pressed further, the press secretary added, "I'm not going to comment from the White House on a third-rate burglary attempt. I'm not going to comment on a group of guys who put on surgical gloves and tried to go in and bug a place."

O'Brien has demanded a full-scale investigation by the Justice Department, and a department spokesman said that the FBI already has begun a probe as a "routine matter."

The Associated Press revealed that one of the five arrested, James McCord, had been paid \$2,418 in April and May by the Committee to Reelect the President, which is headed by Mitchell.

A former security chief for the Central Intelligence Agency's headquarters near Washington, McCord is being held under \$30,000 bail.

The four Miami men, who like McCord were caught within the party quarters wearing surgical rubber gloves and removing part of

the paneling in one office, included Frank Fiorini, who once was active in pro-Castro and then anti-Castro activities.

The others were Eugenio Martinez, V. F. Gonzalez Bernard L. Barker. All are being held under \$50,000 bail.

MIGUEL SUAREZ, a Miami attorney who ran unsuccessfully for Metro mayor in 1970 and who is Bernard Barker's business associate, said he last saw his partner Friday morning and they discussed real estate developments in Miami.

"I am the lawyer for Barker Associates," said Suarez. "He is always in my office. He is like a permanent fixture here, so that's I guess why he gave this address. He probably didn't want to implicate his wife."

At the time the five men were arraigned, Barker gave Suarez' address, 955 SW First St., as his.

"I know that he is an anti-Communist and a Democrat," said Suarez, "but I don't know much else of his political beliefs."

SUAREZ SAID Barker helped him during his bid for Metro mayor "by pasting posters, passing out hand bills and generally being helpful around the office."

"I have not been in contact with Barker since Friday, but I have had a call from his attorney, Douglas Caddy, and we discussed private judicial matters pertaining to this case."

Suarez has known Barker since 1963, but said he didn't know if Barker was involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion planning as a CIA link, as has been suggested.

"We worked in a Cuban clinic together and we hit it off," said Suarez. "About two years ago we began working together in real estate deals."

STATINTL



## Ex-G.O.P. Aide Tied to Political Raid

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 19—A former consultant to a high White House official, who also served earlier as a top Central Intelligence Agency official, was reported tonight to have met in Miami about two weeks ago with the apparent leader of the group that has been charged with attempting last Saturday to install listening devices at the offices of the Democratic National Committee here.

Cuban sources identified him as E. Howard Hunt, who became a consultant to Charles W. Colson, special counsel to President Nixon and to other high White House officials, after retiring from the C.I.A. two years ago.

Mr. Hunt, using the code name "Eduardo," was the C.I.A. official in charge of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

He was the immediate superior of Bernard L. Barker in the preparations for the Cuban invasion. Mr. Barker, who at that time used the code name of "Macho" was one of the five men arrested at gunpoint early Saturday and charged with a break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington.

Cuban sources said that Mr. Hunt flew to Miami about two weeks ago to meet with Mr. Barker, now a wealthy realty man, and handed him his business calling card with his suburban Maryland home telephone number penciled on the back and gave him oral instructions to call if he ever needed him.

Ken W. Clawson, Deputy Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, confirmed tonight reports that Mr. Hunt indeed worked as a White House consultant on a part-time basis in the summer and fall of 1971 and again this year.

Mr. Clawson said that Mr. Hunt, who was hired by the White House personnel office at Mr. Colson's suggestion,

ceased his consulting work on March 29. But Mr. Clawson insisted that "we do not have any idea of his participation in the incident" involving the alleged break-in by former C.I.A. employees at the Democratic offices.

According to Mr. Clawson, "neither Mr. Colson nor anyone else had any knowledge or participation in this deplorable incident."

Police sources here said that Mr. Hunt's name was found in the address book of Mr. Barker and one other suspect at the time of their arrest.

But aside from the reported meeting in Miami between Mr. Hunt and Mr. Barker and the report that Mr. Hunt's name was in the address books, there was no further evidence to link the former C.I.A. official to the break-in.

Mr. Hunt was reached at his home yesterday and was asked whether he knew Mr. Barker.

"I have no comment on that," Mr. Hunt said, and then he hung up the telephone. Tonight Mr. Hunt was called again, but the person answering the telephone said he was out of town until Wednesday or Thursday.

The mystery continued over wiretapping and an invasion of the motivations for the break-in, and the identity of those men who might have ordered it.

Earlier today, the Federal Bureau of Investigation entered the case in Miami after the Department of Justice announced a full-scale investigation and the availability of a Federal grand jury to receive the evidence.

In Miami, the F.B.I. arranged to question Miguel R. Suarez, a business partner of one of the suspects in the break-in and a leading Republican in that city's Cuban community. Four of the five men arrested in the committee headquarters Saturday morning are from Miami.

At least two of the accused men have personal and professional links to the Republican party, but the White House press secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, said in Key Biscayne, Fla., that "I'm not going to comment from the White House on a third-rate burglary attempt."

"This is something that should not fall into the political process," he said.

Both the Republican National Committee and the Committee

to Re-elect the President denounced in statements yesterday the pre-dawn raid. Today, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, the party's National Chairman, telegraphed key members of the Republican committee, including those representing Spanish-speaking groups, urging them not to discuss the matter with anyone.

The Dole memorandum instructed committee members to refer all inquiries to the committee's director of communications, Tom Wolck.

The F.B.I., local policemen, Administration officials and spokesmen for the Republican party refused to discuss details of the case today.

As both the mystery and official silence surrounding the raid deepened, the issue turned quickly into a political controversy. All five suspects, an investigation suggests, have at one time or another had links with the C.I.A.

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, the leading contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination, said at a morning news conference in New York that the raid was "one of the most shocking actions that has happened in this country for some time."

"It is the legacy of years of privacy in which the Government has been too deeply involved," Senator McGovern

said, adding that the former Attorney General, John N. Mitchell, had encouraged "too free a use of wiretaps."

Replying to a question, Senator McGovern said that "any time you get John Mitchell and Bob Dole involved in something, you have to raise an eyebrow."

### Humphrey Asks Apology

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, another contender for the Democratic nomination, said here that "the President and his Cabinet owe the country an apology and an explanation" for the incident.

Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate majority leader, said he did not think the Republican party was involved in the bugging attempt.

Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the minority leader, said the raid on the Democrats was "unconscionable and inexcusable."

Meanwhile, it was learned from Cuban sources in Miami that an attempt had been made

to recruit a sixth person to participate in the break-in but that the unidentified person had refused to join.

At the moment, the following were among the unanswered questions about the raid:

Q Who, if anyone, had ordered the raid?

Q What was its real purpose, and what information was sought?

Q Who, if anyone, supplied the money—\$5,550—some of it found by the police on the suspects at the time of their arrest and the rest in their rooms at the Watergate Hotel?

Q Did any influential officials in the Administration or the Republican party—or their political friends—have advance notice of the raid?

Q Why did the five men remain today in the District of Columbia jail, even though bail for four of them was set at \$50,000 each and at \$30,000 for the fifth man. This is considered relatively low bail, and the men could probably have been released by putting up \$3,000 to \$5,000 in cash. At least two of the suspects are affluent and, to judge from the cash found on them, the group appeared to have affluent friends.

The only formal Government statement on the case came late today when Harold H. Titus Jr., the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, announced that "with the full cooperation of the F.B.I. and the metropolitan police department, an investigation of the burglary and the attempted bugging of offices is under way."

STATINTL



JUN 1972

# Inquiry Widened in Raid on Democrats

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 19—

The Federal Bureau of Investigation widened today its investigation of the mysterious attempt to install listening devices in the offices of the Democratic National Committee here.

In Miami, the F.B.I. arranged to question Miguel R. Suarez, a business partner of one of the suspects in the break-in and a leading Republican in that city's Cuban community. Four of the five men arrested in the committee headquarters Saturday morning are from Miami.

At least two of the accused men have personal and professional links to the Republican party, but the White House

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## Formal U.S. Statement

The only formal Government statement on the case came late today when Harold H. Titus Jr., the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, announced that, "with the full cooperation of the F.B.I. and the metropolitan police department, an investigation of the burglary and the attempted bugging offenses is under way."

Mr. Titus said that a Federal grand jury here "will be available to receive evidence in this investigation."

Earlier in the day, however, Washington police officials told newsmen that they considered the case "closed" because the five men were arrested and arraigned.

The break-in was clearly an acute embarrassment for the Nixon Administration. Mr. Mitchell and Senator Dole acknowledged yesterday that James W. McCord, one of the men arrested Saturday, was a security consultant to both the Committee to Re-elect the President and the Republican National Committee.

Mr. McCord, 53 years old, retired in 1970 from the C.T.A. where he had worked for 19 years. He is now president of McCord Associates, a security consultant firm, in nearby Rockville, Md. He has other clients besides the Republicans.

Although Mr. McCord appeared to attract most attention in the case because of his direct links to the Republican party, informed sources said that the group's apparent leader and recruiters of the team was Bernard L. Barker, a wealthy Cuban-born Miami realtor who played a major role in the preparations of the C.I.A.-led Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Mr. McCord and the three other detained suspects also had connections with the C.I.A.'s operations against the regime of Premier Fidel Castro. The three others are Frank Sturgis, Eugenio R. Martinez and Virgilio R. Gonzalez.

STATINTL

ST. PAUL, MINN.  
DISPATCH

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## Not In the Textbooks

The incredibly bungled attempt at bugging Democratic National Headquarters has some of the aspects of a Mack Sennett movie comedy.

Among the five men caught in the office with cameras, film and bugging devices are two former prominent members of the Central Intelligence Agency. One of them helped mastermind the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961 and the other is currently under contract to provide security for the Republican party. It is altogether more embarrassing than a pie in the face.

What's more, these clumsy bunglers have given wiretapping a bad name. At least that's what a Washington Post reporter was told when he interviewed a number of professional wiretappers and asked them about the incident.

The pros called it a Mickey Mouse operation and a blot on the bugging profession. One said, "These guys have got to be circus bums."

But the interviews also brought out the fact that the bugging of political offices is not at all uncommon. The

experts said it has occurred frequently in the past, either before or after the party nomination, and they said it is particularly common for one candidate to bug another of the same party.

The purpose, they said, is to determine the strategy to be used by a candidate at the convention, to gather derogatory information on an opponent for possible disclosure to the press or to learn about real or imagined plots by one faction or other.

The bugs are rarely discovered, and when they are the targets of the surveillance rarely want the incidents publicized. After all, they may have their own bugs planted in someone else's office.

Somebody ought to do some research and put together a book on the subject. It would be fascinating to learn how many candidates, if any, have won nominations or elections because of information gleaned from an electronic bug. This is the part of the American electoral process that has been left out of high school civics texts.

# Dem HQ bugmen pay is traced to Miami

STATINTL

By PATRICK COLLINS

Evidence is mounting that a right wing group based in Miami may have financed last Saturday's bungled bugging raid on the Democratic National Committee headquarters where the GOP's chief security aide and four others were cornered by police in the office of Democratic Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien.

Police and federal investigators refused to detail the results of their preliminary investigation into the case, tho, one source did say that the five men charged with the burglary of the Democratic headquarters have been associated with extremist factions of the "free Cuba" movement.

## MIAMI BANK

Another source said the \$4,200 in crisp \$100 bills which was seized from the men is believed to have come from a Miami bank. The \$100 bills, their serial numbers, sequence, are being traced by the Federal Reserve Bank, but a spokesman for the FBI refused to comment.

Meanwhile, two of the men captured by District police in the Democratic committee headquarters are reported in one newspaper to have had address books containing the name and phone number of a White House consultant who worked on the declassification of the Pentagon Papers and on narcotics intelligence.

The name and home phone number of Howard E. Hunt, a consultant to White House special counsel Charles W. Conson, is listed in the address books of Eugenio Martinez and in one of the other suspect's, it was reported.

Mr. Hunt, who formerly worked for the CIA and is working for the White House for a consulting fee while employed by a Washington public relations firm, was not available for comment today.

It was also reported that a personal check made out by Mr. Hunt to the Lakewood Country Club in Rockville for \$6; and a bill from the club for the same amount, were among the suspects' belongings.

U.S. Atty. Harold Titus said today a federal grand jury will be empanelled soon to start taking evidence on the bugging attempt.

The suspect with the strongest link to right wing groups is Frank Fiorini, alias Frank Sturgis, a soldier of fortune who went to Cuba in 1958 to fight for Fidel Castro. Mr. Fiorini later became the assistant to Maj. Pedro Diaz Lanz, head of the Cuban Strategic Air Command.

In the summer of 1959, when Premier Castro made his first move toward communism, Mr. Fiorini and Maj. Diaz both defected to Miami.

## CITIZENSHIP QUESTION

Upon arriving in the states, Mr. Fiorini was notified that he had

zanship because he fought for a foreign army, and it is believed that then Sen. George Smathers intervened to reinstate him as an American citizen.

Contacted in Florida last night, Sen. Smathers said he had "no personal knowledge of the man but it is very possible I helped him out. We handled anywhere from 15,000 to 25,000 citizenship cases while I was in the Senate. He may have been one."

In Miami, Mr. Fiorini and Maj. Diaz joined the John Birch Society and more recently Mr. Fiorini founded a group called United Cubans, boasting that he had "a lady with a million dollars who would spend it to free Cuba."

## BAY OF PIGS

James McCord, security chief for the GOP, who was involved in the scheme, is an ex FBI agent and CIA employe who officials believe first met Mr. Fiorini during the staging for the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

Mr. McCord, who worked for the CIA from 1951 to 1970, was hired as security advisor for the Committee for the Re-election of the President, Mr. Nixon's campaign committee, last October and a few days later he was signed up as security chief for the Republican National Committee.

Spokesmen for both groups say Mr. McCord, who operates a security agency at 414 Hungerford Road in Rockville, was chosen after several applicants had been interviewed. They said he first was employed as a consultant to shore up Republican security leaks and that later he detailed some of his "rent-a-cops" around GOP offices.

As of yesterday, Mr. McCord had been dropped from the Republican committee payroll, and his salary of \$1,209 a month had been cut off.

The third man, Bernard Barker, a wealthy real estate man in Miami, was one of the key links between the CIA and the Cuban exile army at the time of the Bay of Pigs, and sources in Miami say that Mr. Barker has been involved with militant Cuban refugee groups.

## LOCKSMITH

The other two suspects, Eugenio Martinez, alias Jeane Valdes, a real estate man and notary public in Miami, and Virgilio R. Gonzales, alias Raoul Godoy, a locksmith, are reportedly linked to Mr. Fiorini's militant crusade.

Joseph Rafferty, lawyer for the five men, all charged with second degree burglary and with attempted interception of telephone and other conversations, said yesterday he planned to ask the court to reduce bond for the men when a preliminary hearing is held in the case today.

Mr. Rafferty said he will appeal for the bail

drop on the grounds that there has been "additional verification of the facts that all of these men are more substantial" than the judge had reason to believe when they first appeared in court.

When they were arrested, Mr. McCord's bond was set at \$30,000 the other four men were held on \$50,000 bond.

All five have been in D.C. Jail since their arraignment.

In other developments in the case yesterday:

- Joseph Califano, attorney for the Democratic National Committee, said the Democrats were seriously contemplating filing a civil suit that would force the Republican leaders to state under oath their role in the matter.

- A spokesman for the Democratic National Committee confessed that had the bugging attempt been successful it probably wouldn't have been detected "since we don't make routine sweeps of the place." He said they will continue to use just one guard at their 6th floor offices in the Watergate building at 600 New Hampshire-av nw.

- Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., head of the Joint Economics Committee, asked the Federal Reserve Board to trace the serial numbers on the money confiscated from the suspects. The board refused, saying that would be done by the Federal Reserve Bank in conjunction with the FBI.

President Nixon, who has been in Florida since the weekend, had no comment on the Watergate incident. Press Secretary Ron Ziegler said it was a "third-rate burglary attempt" that mars the country's political process.

# White House Consultant Tied to Bugging Figure

By Bob Woodward  
and E. J. Bachinski

Washington Post Staff Writers

A consultant to White House special counsel Charles W. Colson is listed in the address books of two of the five men arrested in an attempt to bug the Democratic National headquarters here early Saturday.

Federal sources close to the investigation said the address books contain the name and home telephone number of Howard E. Hunt with the notations, "W. House" and "W.H."

In addition, a stamped, unmailed envelope containing Hunt's personal check for \$6 made out to the Lakewood Country Club in Rockville and a bill for the same amount also were found among the suspects' belongings, sources said.

Hunt worked for the Central Intelligence Agency from 1949 to 1970. At least two of the five suspects in what Democratic Party chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien has called an "incredible act of political espionage" have worked for the CIA. The other three are either active in the anti-Castro movement in Florida or are known by leaders of that movement.

In other developments yesterday:

- It was reported that one of the five suspects, Eugenio R. Martinez, contacted University of Miami officials two weeks ago seeking housing for about 3,000 Young Republicans during the Republican National Convention.

- Former CIA employee and FBI agent James W. McCord Jr., a suspect who worked for the Republicans as a security coordinator, served until four months ago in a special 15-member military reserve unit. The Washington-based unit develops lists of radicals and draws up contingency plans for censorship of the news media and U.S. mail.

- White House spokesman Ronald L. Ziegler told reporters in Florida with the President that he would not comment on "a third-rate burglary attempt." In addition Ziegler said that "certain elements

may try to stretch this beyond what it is."

- Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield said he didn't think the Republican party had anything to do with the bizarre bugging incident.

- O'Brien said his party might take civil court action against the suspects because the party's First Amendment rights and civil rights were violated.

The White House personnel office confirmed yesterday that Hunt is a consultant to Colson and has an office in the old Executive Office Building. Colson is said to specialize in delicate assignments for the President.

Ken W. Clawson, current White House aide who until recently was a reporter, wrote in February, 1971, in *The Washington Post* that one source described Colson as one of the "original back-room boys... the brokers, the guys who fix things when they break down and do the dirty work when it's necessary."

Hunt was brought to the White House by Colson, Clawson said. He said the two had met in 1966 at the Brown University Club in Washington.

When Hunt was asked by a reporter yesterday why two of the suspects had his phone number, he said, "Good God!" He then paused and said, "In view of that the matter is under adjudication, I have no comment." He then hung up the telephone.

Clawson, now deputy director of communications for the White House, stressed yesterday that Hunt worked as a consultant to the White House on declassification of the Pentagon Papers and most recently on narcotics intelligence.

He said Hunt last worked for the White House on March 29, 1972, for a regular daily consultant fee. These fees are generally a \$100 a day, other sources said.

"I've looked into the matter very thoroughly and I am convinced that neither Mr. Colson nor anyone else at the White House had any knowledge of, or participation in, this deplorable incident at the Democratic National Committee," Clawson said in a prepared statement.

He said Hunt was put on at the White House because of his CIA expertise.

Hunt is employed as a writer with the public relations firm of Robert R. Mullen & Co., 1700 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, directly across from both Mr. Nixon's re-election campaign headquarters and the main White House offices.

This was the sequence of events when a Washington Post reporter called the White House and asked to speak to Howard E. Hunt early yesterday:

A switchboard operator rang an extension, and when no one answered, she told the reporter: "There is one other place he might be—in Mr. Colson's office." She dialed Colson's office, where a secretary said, "Mr. Hunt is not here now." She then gave the reporter Hunt's number at the public relations firm across the street.

Hunt's name and phone number was in the pop-up address book of another suspect, Eugenio Martinez, a real estate agent and notary public who has been active in the anti-Castro movement in Miami.

A small, black address book of one of the other suspects also has Hunt's name and phone number, the sources said.

Also taken by police was a savings account book that shows Martinez has \$7,199 in a Miami bank, according to the sources.

The suspect's address books contained many other addresses and telephone numbers, mostly of Cubans and others in Miami.

One name was that of James Grimm, head of housing for the University of Miami. Grimm told Post reporter Kirk Scharfenberg in Miami yesterday that Martinez contacted him about two weeks ago, seeking housing for about 3,000 Young Republicans during the Republican National Convention in August.

Grimm said he could not provide the rooms because classes would soon begin. Republican officials said they had no knowledge of Martinez's efforts to secure housing for Young Republicans.

Martinez works in the real estate agency of another of the suspects, Bernard L. Barker, who is said by Cuban exiles to have worked for the CIA since the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

Barker is a joint investor in several apartment house developments in Miami with Miguel A. Suarez, a Republican who ran unsuccessfully for Dade County mayor in 1970.

In addition to Martinez, Barker and McCord, the other three suspects, all Miami residents, have been identified as: Frank Sturgis, also known as Frank Fiorini, an American who served in Fidel Castro's revolutionary army and has since been a leader in the anti-Castro guerrilla movement; Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith, and Barker, an American born in Havana.

McCord was still being held on \$30,000 bond yesterday, and the other four on \$50,000 bond.

They are charged with attempted burglary and attempted interception of telephone and other communication.

All five suspects, well-dressed, wearing rubber surgical gloves and armed only with tear gas pens, were arrested about 2:30 a.m. Saturday by D.C. police inside the sixth floor 29-office suite of the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate, 2600 Virginia Ave. NW.

Police sources said they were still looking for a sixth person believed to have been involved in the incident.

Though the alleged bugging attempt at first appeared to be very sophisticated and professional, experts in the field of wiretapping have since said it was amateurish.

Capt. Richard L. Franz of the Navy reserves acknowledged that McCord was a member of the Office of Emergency Preparedness special analysis division, a 15-member reserve unit that meets monthly at 604 17th St. NW, across from the Executive Office Building.

Franz said he could not discuss the work of the unit. However, other sources in the unit said that one of its functions is to develop a list of

STATINTL

## DEMOCRATIC RAID TIED TO REALTOR

Alleged Leader Said to Have  
G.O.P. Links and to Have  
Aided C.I.A. on Cuba

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18—The apparent leader of five men arrested yesterday for breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee here was identified today as an affluent Miami real estate man with important Republican party links in Florida.

He was also said to have been one of the top planners of the Central Intelligence Agency's abortive invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Five men were arrested at gunpoint in the raid. The police said that they possessed sophisticated eavesdropping devices and photographic equipment.

The five raiders are being held at the District of Columbia jail. Private and official sources who know the five raiders and their background, said that the leader was Cuban-born Bernard L. Barker, who, under the code name of "Machito," acted for the C.I.A. in planning the Bay of Pigs operation.

One of the other men arrested is James W. McCord, a former employe of the C.I.A. who is currently employed as a security agent by both the Republican National Committee and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

At the time of his arrest, Mr. Barker gave his address as 955 First Street Southwest, Miami. That is the office of Miguel R. Suarez, a Cuban exile lawyer prominent in Republican politics in Florida.

Mr. Barker is president of Barker Associates, Inc., a real estate company. That address is 2301 Northwest Seventh Street, Miami. But he is also Mr. Suarez's partner in a separate venture.

The C.I.A. disassociated itself from all aspects of the pre-dawn raid. However, it

did identify Mr. McCord as a former employe who resigned in August, 1970.

John N. Mitchell, former Attorney General and now chairman of the Committee to Re-Elect the President, said in a statement that Mr. McCord "is the proprietor of a private security agency who was employed by our committee months ago to assist with the installation of our security system."

"He has, as we understand it, a number of business clients and interests, and we have no knowledge of those relationships," Mr. Mitchell said.

"We want to emphasize that this man and the other people involved were not operating either on our behalf or with our consent. I am surprised and dismayed at these reports.

"There is no place in our campaign or in the electoral process for this type of activity, and we will not permit or condone it."

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Republican National Committee, issued a statement saying that Mr. McCord's actions "were not on our behalf nor with our consent."

"We deplore actions of this kind in or out of politics," he said.

A reconstruction of the backgrounds of those allegedly involved in the raid on the Democratic headquarters suggested that all at different times had had links with the C.I.A. and anti-Cuban operations.

The most prominent among them appeared to be Mr. Barker. According to Miami sources, political active during the Bay of Pigs period, Mr. Barker was one of the principal links between the C.I.A. headquarters and the Cuban exile army during the pre-invasion period.

Mr. Barker was said to have a role in establishing the secret invasion bases in Guatemala and Nicaragua and to have served as one of the conduits for C.I.A. money to the exile army.

Mr. Barker, now a United States citizen, is closely associated with Capt. Manuel Artime Buesa, the military leader of the invasion. Captain Artime, who now lives in Miami, is reported to have business connections with prominent Cuban exiles in Miami who in turn have links with the Republican party.

According to his acquaintances, Mr. Barker started a real estate venture four years ago, specializing in the sale of lots. Later, he entered into association with Mr. Suarez, who heads a law firm in Miami, for the

Their condominium company is situated in Mr. Suarez's offices whose address Mr. Barker gave the Washington police when he was arrested.

Mr. Suarez represented the Cuban community in Florida in dealings with Claude R. Kirk Jr., the former Republican Governor of the state. Mr. Suarez said in a recent article in a Cuban magazine published in Miami that he was a "Nixonian."

There was no evidence to indicate that Mr. Suarez or Captain Artime were in any way connected with the Washington raid.

As for Mr. McCord, he had played, according to his former associates, a relatively minor technical role in the preparations for the Bay of Pigs. He joined the C.I.A. in 1951.

The third alleged raider, Frank Sturgis—also known as Frank Fiorini—was reported to have been involved in the Bay

of Pigs preparations in an active manner but in a lesser capacity than Mr. Barker.

He is an American and a former Marine.

The two other alleged members of the raiding party—Eugenio R. Martinez and Virgilio R. Gonzales, both of Miami—were also reported to have been active in anti-Cuban movements.

Mr. Martinez is a real estate agent and a Florida notary public. Mr. Gonzales is a locksmith.

Miami sources said that the suspected raiders, except for Mr. McCord, arrived here from Miami on Friday and checked in at the elegant Watergate Hotel. The Democratic headquarters are housed in an office building in the Watergate complex on Washington's Virginia Avenue overlooking the Potomac.

Persons in Miami familiar with the backgrounds of the five could offer no explanation for their involvement in the apparent attempt to install listening and transmitting devices in the Democratic offices and to photograph files.

Telephone interviews with Cuban leaders in Miami produced expressions of concern that the raid might reflect adversely on the standing of the large Cuban community in Florida.

The more affluent members of that community are supporters of Mr. Nixon's re-election, but they are split into at least two pro-Republican groups. In Washington, Manuel R.

Following Mr. Mitchell's statement, Mr. O'Brien urged Richard G. Kleindienst, the Attorney General, to order a thorough investigation by the F.B.I.

He said that only "the most searching professional investigation can determine to what extent, if any, the Committee for the Re-Election of the President is involved in this attempt to gain on Democratic headquarters."

His statements of innocence by Mr. Nixon's campaign manager will dispel these questions," he said. Mr. O'Brien added that the investigation should continue "until we know beyond a doubt what organization or individuals were behind this incredible act of political espionage."

### Bail Is Set

Mr. McCord was held in \$30,000 bail and the four others in \$50,000 bail.

The police said that the Saturday raid was the third incident to occur at the Democratic headquarters. On May 28, an attempt was made to unscrew a lock on the office's door. On June 7, \$100 in cash and checks were stolen after the office was broken into during the night.

According to the police, the four alleged raiders from Miami registered at the Watergate Hotel under fictitious names and occupied two rooms. They were locked in the hotel restaurant.

Giberga, the Cuban-American coordinator of the Republican National Committee, could not be reached for comment.



19 JUN 1972

STATINTL

# GOP Security Aide Among 5 Arrested In Bugging Affair

By Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein  
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of the five men arrested early Saturday in the attempt to bug the Democratic National Committee headquarters here is the salaried security coordinator for President Nixon's reelection committee.

The suspect, former CIA employee James W. McCord Jr., 53, also holds a separate contract to provide security services to the Republican National Committee, GOP national chairman Bob Dole said yesterday.

Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, head of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, said yesterday McCord was employed to help install that committee's own security system.

In a statement issued in Los Angeles, Mitchell said McCord and the other four men arrested at Democratic headquarters Saturday "were not operating either in our behalf or with our consent" in the alleged bugging attempt.

Dole issued a similar statement, adding that "we deplore action of this kind in or out of politics." An aide to Dole said he was unsure at this time exactly what security services McCord was hired to perform by the National Committee.

Police sources said last night that they were seeking a sixth man in connection with the attempted bugging. The sources would give no other details.

Other sources close to the investigation said yesterday that there still was no explanation as to why the five suspects might have attempted to bug Democratic headquarters in the Watergate at 2600 Virginia Ave. NW, or if they were working for other individuals or organizations.

"We're baffled at this point . . . the mystery deepens," a high Democratic party source said.

Democratic National Committee Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien said the "bugging incident . . . raised the



JAMES W. McCORD  
... retired CIA employee

ugliest questions about the integrity of the political process that I have encountered in a quarter century.

"No mere statement of innocence by Mr. Nixon's campaign manager will dispel these questions."

The Democratic presidential candidates were not available for comment yesterday.

O'Brien, in his statement, called on Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst to order an immediate "search-

ing professional investigation" of the entire matter by the FBI.

A spokesman for Kleindienst said yesterday, "The FBI is already investigating . . . Their investigative report will be turned over to the criminal division for appropriate action."

The White House did not comment.

McCord, 53, retired from the Central Intelligence Agency in 1970 after 19 years of service and established his own "security consulting firm," McCord Associates, at 414 Hungerford Drive, Rockville. He lives at 7 Winder Ct., Rockville.

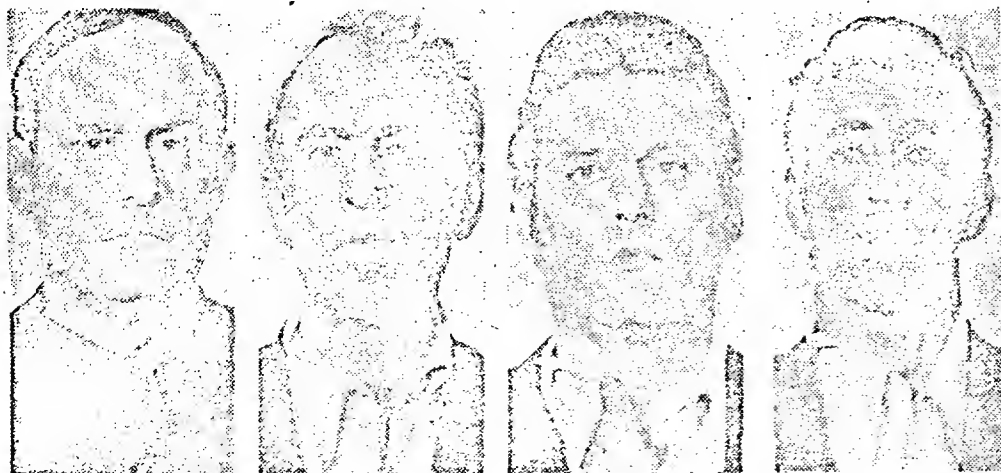
McCord is an active Baptist and colonel in the Air Force Reserves, according to neighbors and friends.

In addition to McCord, the other four suspects all Miami residents, have been identified as: Frank Sturgis (also known as Frank Fiorini), an American who served in Fidel Castro's revolutionary army and later trained a guerrilla force of anti-Castro exiles; Eugenio R. Martinez, a real estate agent and notary public who is active in anti-Castro activities in Miami; Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith; and Bernard L. Barker, a native of Havana said by exiles to have worked on and off for the CIA since the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

All five suspects gave the police false names after being arrested Saturday. McCord also told his attorney that his name is Edward Martin, the attorney said.

Sources in Miami said yesterday that at least one of the suspects—Sturgis—was attempting to organize Cubans in Miami to demonstrate at the Democratic National Convention there next month.

The five suspects, well-dressed, wearing rubber surgical gloves and unarmed, were arrested about 2:30 a.m. Saturday when they were surprised by Metropolitan police inside the 29-office suite of the Democratic headquarters on the sixth floor of the Watergate



Bernard Barker, Eugenio R. Martinez, from left, held in connection with attempt to bug Democratic Committee offices. Frank Sturgis and Virgilio R. Gonzales.



# Snooping on Democrats Probed

By ROBERT WALTERS

Star Staff Writer

The FBI is taking a major hand in probing the weekend break-in at Democratic national headquarters by five men armed with cameras and electronic snooping devices.

Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien had labeled the invasion early Saturday morning of the party's offices an "incredible act of political espionage." O'Brien called for "the most searching professional investigation."

Top officials of the Republican party and of President Nixon's re-election campaign yesterday deplored the break-in, and said it was not done "on our behalf or with our consent."

## Linked to GOP

The GOP statements were issued after the Association Press disclosed that one of the five men arrested and charged with the break-in is the chief security officer for both the Republican National Committee and the Nixon re-election campaign.

He is James W. McCord Jr., who worked for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1948 to 1951, was employed by the Central Intelligence Agency from 1951 to 1970 and now operates his own security consulting firm in Rockville.

McCord joined the staff of the Committee for the Re-

election of the President as its "security coordinator" in January of this year. He was on the committee's payroll at least as late as last Friday, the day prior to the break in.

According to officials of the committee, McCord was the highest ranking security official employed by the organization, established to coordinate Nixon's re-election drive. Public records show that he has been receiving take-home pay of \$1,209 a month.

## Protects Building

Similarly, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee said "we have a contractual relationship with his (McCord's) company to furnish security services for our building," the party headquarters on Capitol Hill.

GOP officials said the services provided by McCord's

firm included installing television cameras and other electronic monitoring devices to detect intruders and providing guards for the GOP headquarters.

There were other reports of ties between the Republicans and those involved in the apparent effort to "bug" the DNC offices and to photograph documents:

- The New York Times said another of the five men arrested, Bernard L. Barker, was "the apparent leader" of the raiding party and had been "identified ... as an affluent Miami realtor with important Republican party links in Florida."

- The Miami Herald reported that Barker and one of the other men arrested, Frank A. Sturgis, participated last month in a Miami meeting to organize a downtown parade of Cuban exiles in support of Nixon's decision to blockade Haiphong harbor in Vietnam.

- Washington lawyer Douglas Caddy, who served as an intermediary in enlisting the services of another attorney to represent Barker immediately following his arrest, was identified as an active participant in Republican political affairs.

Shortly before 2 a.m. Saturday, a security guard in the Watergate Office Building, where the DNC offices are located, became suspicious when he noticed that the lock on a door had been taped to prevent it from functioning.

## Held in D.C. Jail

He summoned police, who arrested McCord, Barker, Sturgis, Eugenio R. Martinez, a real estate agent and notary public in Florida, and Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith. All five were held in the District Jail over the weekend because they were unable to post the bond set in their case.

Police also said that \$5,300, in consecutively numbered \$100 bills, was found in possession of the men and in their hotel rooms in the adjoining Watergate Hotel.

The source of the money and the purpose of the break-in were among the important questions still unanswered.

Asked about possible motives, Metropolitan Police Det. William Casey, the arresting officer, said: "We beat our heads together on that ... and we couldn't find a reason for it."

Casey said robbery had been ruled out as a likely motive. When asked about the possibility of political espionage, he said: "That's one of the things we've thought of."

The FBI was reliably reported to have taken responsibility for a major portion of the investigation, invoking federal jurisdiction on the grounds that the suspects may have been attempting to violate the prohibition in the Safe Streets Act of 1968 against electronic eavesdropping by private parties.

## Car Returned

The FBI was known to have taken possession of the electronic devices and photographic equipment confiscated from the arrested men. A 1972 Chrysler bearing Virginia license plates, believed to have been rented by the suspects, was inspected by the FBI then returned to the Avis rental agency at National Airport.

The Nixon re-election committee issued a statement yesterday in the name of John N. Mitchell, the former attorney general now in charge of the President's campaign, which said "we want to emphasize that this man (McCord) and the other people involved were not operating either in our behalf or with our consent."

The Mitchell statement added:

"The person involved is the proprietor of a private security firm who was employed by our committee months ago to assist with the installation of our security system.

"He has, as we understand it, a number of business clients and interests, and we have no knowledge of those relationships. ... There is no place in our campaign or in the electoral process for this kind of activity. We do not permit it nor condone it."

## Dole Statement

The Republican National Committee then issued a statement in the name of its chairman, Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kans., which acknowledged that McCord "is the owner of a firm with which the committee contracted for security services," then added:

"His actions were not on our behalf nor with our consent. If our understanding of the facts is accurate, we will, of course, discontinue our relationship

with the firm. We deplore actions of this kind in or out of politics."

But the Democratic National Committee distributed a statement in the name of chairman O'Brien who said the incident "raised the ugliest questions about the integrity of the political process that I have encountered in a quarter century of political activity."

O'Brien's statement added:

"No mere statement of innocence by Mitchell ... will dispel these questions — especially as the individual allegedly involved remains on the payroll of the Nixon campaign organization. ...

"Only the most searching professional investigation can determine to what extent the Committee for the Re-election of the President is involved in this attempt to spy on Democratic headquarters.

"I call upon Atty. Gen. (Richard G.) Kleindienst toorough investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This investigation must remain open until we know beyond a doubt what organization or individuals were behind this incredible act of political espionage."

This story was written from reports compiled by Robert Walters, Lance Gay, Jack Kneec, Lyle Denniston, Jeremiah O'Leary, James Doyle, Ronald Sarro and Robert Buchanan.

STATINTL

19 JUN 1972

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**SUSPECT IN BREAK-IN****Barker Tied to Bay of Pigs**

By MERWIN SIGALE

Star Staff Writer

MIAMI — Bernard L. Barker, one of five men arrested during a break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, reportedly was an important figure in planning the Central Intelligence Agency's ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

He and another suspect also reportedly helped plan a demonstration last month in support of President Nixon's decision to mine North Vietnamese ports.

Barker's anti-Castro activism seems to have been shared by at least three and perhaps all of those arrested with him early Saturday. One of the others, Frank Sturgis, also known as Frank Fiorini, has a history of exploits as a soldier of fortune bent on helping to overthrow Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Jose E. de la Torriente, leader of an anti-Castro organization that has sought support for an exile invasion of Cuba, said Barker "used to work for the CIA here at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion. That was public knowledge. It was no mystery. He was a sort of assistant to the man who was in charge here for the CIA, a man named Bender."

**Barker Ex-Marine**

Barker, who has a real estate business in Miami, reportedly is a Cuban native but a U.S. citizen and an ex-Marine.

The New York Times, in a Washington dispatch, also identified Barker's CIA role in the invasion, citing Miami sources. The Times called Barker the apparent leader of Saturday's raid, and it said he is associated with Cuban exiles in Miami who have "links to the Republican party." It identified these exiles as Manuel Artime, military leader of the 1961 invasion, and attorney Miguel A. Suarez.

Artime, the Times said, "is reported to have business connections with prominent Cuban exiles in Miami who in turn have links to the Republican party." Suarez, a self-styled "Nixonian," has been

have represented Florida's Cuban community in dealings with former GOP Gov. Claude R. Kirk Jr.

There was no evidence to indicate that Artime or Suarez was connected with the Washington raid, the Times said. They could not be reached immediately for comment.

Robert Rosasco, Dade County (Miami) GOP chairman, said that if Barker himself had any political influence, it was "not with the Dade County organization." Rosasco said he never heard of Barker.

Barker did, however, campaign with Fiorini in support of Nixon's move to block supplies from North Vietnamese ports, exile sources told the Miami Herald. The sources said the two men, claiming to represent an organization of captive anti-Communist nations, helped plan and carry out a demonstration by Cubans in Miami last month in favor of Nixon's action.

Another of the five suspects, James McCord Jr. of Rockville, Md., who has worked in recent weeks on security preparations for the Republicans, also has been identified with the Bay of Pigs invasion. The CIA said he retired from that agency in 1970.

Little is known about the two other suspects, Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith, and Eugenio R. Martinez, a real estate agent.

**Conjecture on Links**

Whether the suspects' past involvement in anti-Castro activities was related in any way to the raid on the Democratic party office could only be a matter of conjecture.

The leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, Sen. George McGovern, had advocated steps toward improving U.S. relations with the Castro regime. So has Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, who has figured in speculation about the nomination.

In a letter to the editor of the Miami News, published March 30, 1960, Fiorini — he signed that name rather than Sturgis — objected to previous letters from readers demanding better U.S.-Cuban relations.

how human rights were violated, how representative democracy has been denied people, how the U.S. government has been accused of imperialism, our President and State Department officials ridiculed; and worst of all, how Castro has unfurled the Communist banner in America, trying to subvert our Western civilization. . . .

"I am an American citizen, and it was my love for democracy and personal liberty that led me to fight against Batista. But today I denounce Fidel Castro as a traitor to the revolution and a traitor to America."

**Defections in '59**

Fiorini, 48, has previously said that he was security chief for Castro's Air Force headed by Maj. Pedro Diaz Lanz. Both men defected in 1959. Fiorini was stripped of his U.S. citizenship for serving in the Cuban armed forces but won reinstatement.

He has claimed roles in a number of anti-Castro actions. In 1963, he and 12 other men were arrested when their boat docked in British Honduras. Fiorini later told a newsman in Miami that they had intended to rendezvous with another boat for a raid against Cuba.

More recently Fiorini has been identified as an organizer with the John Birch Society.

Barker has not been so visible as a Castro opponent since the Bay of Pigs fiasco. He held several jobs before establishing his own real estate business here, Barker Associates, Inc., according to a former employer, Miami real estate dealer Robert E. Marx.

STATINTL

# Bound by an Antipathy to Castro

By Merwin K. Sigale

Newsday Special Correspondent

Miami—Bernard L. Barker, one of five men arrested during a break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, was described as a key figure in planning the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

His anti-Castro activism seems to have been shared by at least three and perhaps all of those arrested with him early Saturday. One of the others, Frank Sturgis—for the last 10 years, he has been known publicly as Frank Fiorini—has a history of exploits bent on helping to overthrow Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Jose E. de la Torriente, leader of an anti-Castro organization that has tried to rally support for an invasion of Cuba by exiles, said Barker "used to work for the CIA here at the time of

the Bay of Pigs invasion. That was public knowledge. It was no mystery. He was a sort of assistant to the man who was in charge here for the CIA, a man named Bender."

Since the ill-fated invasion, Barker held several jobs before setting up his own real estate business in Miami, according to a former employer. Robert E. Marx, a realtor, said they met three or four years ago when Barker was manager of a Miami department store. He said Barker got a real estate license, joined a local firm and later went to work for him. "He worked for me about a year and a half as a real-estate salesman," Marx said. Barker later opened his own real estate office. I

Barker campaigned with Fiorini in support of President Nixon's decision to mine North Vietnamese ports, the Miami Herald reported. The Herald, quoting sources in Miami's sizable

community of Cuban exiles, said the two men helped plan and carry out the demonstration by Cubans in Miami last month in favor of Nixon's action.

Another of those arrested, James W. McCord, also has been identified with the Bay of Pigs invasion, but little is known about the two other suspects. Virgilio R. Gonzales, a locksmith, and Eugenio R. Martinez, though one unconfirmed report said that Martinez, like Fiorini, might have fought once for Castro and then turned against him. All but McCord are from Miami.

Fiorini previously has claimed that he had been security chief for Cuba's Air Force until he broke with Castro. In 1968, he and 12 other men were arrested when their boat docked at Belize, British Honduras. Later, Fiorini told newsmen in Miami that they were supposed to rendezvous with another boat for a raid against Cuba.

18 JUN 1972

C.A.3.01.7

# Suspect Aided, Fought Castro

By Carl Bernstein  
and Kirk Scharfenberg  
Washington Post Staff Writers

The suspects in the apparent plot to bug the offices of the Democratic National Committee include a locksmith, a man who said he was a former CIA employee, an American soldier of fortune who fought with Fidel Castro in Cuba and later trained anti-Castro exiles, and another man linked by Cuban exiles to the CIA.

The best known of the suspects appears to be Frank Sturgis, a native of Norfolk, who joined Fidel Castro in the hills of Oriente Province in 1958.

According to newspaper reports and Cuban exile sources in Miami, Sturgis—also known as Frank Fiorini—was named by Castro to

oversee the gambling casinos in Havana until they were closed shortly after the revolution in January, 1959.

Sturgis left Cuba in 1959 for Miami and later became head of the International Anti-Communist Brigade.

The Brigade trained Cuban exiles who in 1962—a year after the Bay of Pigs invasion—landed in Matanzas Province and set up anti-Castro guerrilla operations east of Havana.

Sturgis, who is 47, also was identified by federal authorities as the copilot of the plane that dropped anti-Castro leaflets over Havana in 1959.

A former manager of a tavern in Norfolk, Sturgis served in the Marine Corps in Korea, was wounded while fighting with Castro in Cuba

and—according to exiles—has worked recently as a plate glass salesman in Miami.

The same exiles said yesterday that another of the suspects, Bernard L. Barker, 55, has worked off and on for the CIA since the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Barker's wife Clara said in a telephone interview from Miami yesterday that her husband, a native of Havana, has owned a real estate firm in Miami for about a year. Questioned about the CIA, Mrs. Barker said: "I've never known if he works for the CIA or not. The men never tell the women anything about that."

Mrs. Barker said her husband was imprisoned briefly by Castro in 1959 shortly before they moved to Miami. Exile sources said Barker is known in the Cuban com-

munity as "Macho"—meaning husky or beefy—and that he was closely associated with Frank Bender, the CIA operative who recruited many members Brigade 2506: the Bay of Pigs invasion force.

In court yesterday, another of the suspects—Edward Martin—identified himself as a former CIA employee.

His purported employment by the agency came to light when the judge questioned a bail report that listed Martin as a "security consultant" retired from government service. The judge asked what "government service"? Martin conferred with his lawyer, then said "intelligence," the "CIA." His lawyer repeated, "CIA."

A CIA spokesman said that, based on the date of birth provided from yesterday's Washington police arrest record, Edward Martin "has never worked for the CIA."

The arrest record listed Martin's date of birth as Oct. 9, 1918. The CIA said there is no record of an Edward Martin's with that birthdate having worked for the agency. However, the spokesman said agency records contain a "drawerful" of Edward Martins with other dates of birth.

Martin, who police say has lived in New York City and possibly Washington, was the only suspect who is not known to have a Miami address.

The suspect identified as a locksmith, Virgilio R. Gonzales, was said by his wife to be an employee of the Missing Link Key Shop in Miami.

The fifth suspect, Eugenio R. Martinez, was said by prosecutors to have violated American immigration laws in 1958 when he flew a private plane to his native Cuba.

Exile sources in Miami said they did not recognize either Martinez or Gonzales as playing any prominent roles in organized anti-Castro activities.

STATINTL

18 JUN 1972

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# 5 Held in Plot to Bug Democrats' Office Here

By Alfred E. Lewis  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Five men, one of whom said he is a former employee of the Central Intelligence Agency, were arrested at 2:30 a.m. yesterday in what authorities described as an elaborate plot to bug the offices of the Democratic National Committee here.

Three of the men were native-born Cubans and another was said to have trained Cuban exiles for guerrilla activity after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

They were surprised at gunpoint by three plainclothes officers of the metropolitan police department in a sixth-floor office at the plush Watergate, 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, where the Democratic National Committee occupies the entire floor.

There was no immediate explanation as to why the five suspects would want to bug the Democratic National Committee offices or whether or not they were working for any other individuals or organizations.

A spokesman for the Democratic National Committee said records kept in those offices are "not of a sensitive variety" although there are "financial records and other such information."

Police said two ceiling panels in the office of Dorothy V. Bush, secretary of the Democratic Party, had been removed.

Her office is adjacent to the office of Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien. Presumably, it would have been possible to slide a bugging device through the panels in that office to a place above the ceiling panels in O'Brien's office.

All wearing rubber surgical gloves, the five suspects were captured inside a small office within the committee's headquarters suite.

Police said the men had with them at least two sophisticated devices capable of picking up and transmitting all talk, including telephone conversations. In addition, police found lockpicks and door jimmies, almost \$2,300 in cash, most of it in \$100 bills with the serial numbers in sequence.

The men also had with them one walkie-talkie, a short wave receiver that could pick up police calls, 40 rolls of unexposed film and two 35 millimeter cameras.

Near where they were captured were two open file drawers, and one national committee source conjectured that the men were preparing to photograph the contents.

In Court yesterday, one suspect said the men were "anti-Communists" and the others nodded agreement. The operation was described in court by prosecutor Earl J. Silbert as "professional and clandestine." One of the Cuban natives, The Washington Post learned, is now a Miami locksmith.

Many of the burglary tools found at the Democratic National Committee offices appeared to be packaged in what police said were burglary kits.

The five men were identified as:

- Edward Martin of New York City and perhaps the Washington metropolitan area. In court yesterday, Martin said he retired from the Central Intelligence Agency two years ago. He said he presently is employed as a "security consultant."

- Frank Sturgis of 2515 NW 122d St., Miami. Prosecutors said that an FBI check on Sturgis showed that he had served in the Cuban Military army intelligence in 1958, recently travelled to Honduras in Central America, and presently is the agent for a Havana salvage agency. He has a home and family in Miami. Sturgis

with a gun violation in Miami, according to FBI records.

- Eugenio R. Martinez of 4044 North Meridian Ave., Miami. Prosecutors said that Martinez violated the immigration laws in 1958 by flying in a private plane to Cuba. He is a licensed real estate agent and a notary public in Florida.

- Virgilio R. Gonzales of 930 NW 23d Ave., Miami. In Miami yesterday, his wife told a Washington Post reporter that her husband works as a locksmith at the Missing Link Key Shop. Harry Collot, the shop owner, said that Gonzales was scheduled to work yesterday but didn't show up. "He's done it before, but it's not a regular thing," Collot said. He said he thought Gonzales came to America about the time Fidel Castro became well-known, and began working for Missing Links sometime in 1959. He described Gonzales as "pro-American and anti-Castro... he doesn't rant or rave like some of them do."

- Bernard L. Barker of 5229 NW 4th St., Miami. Douglas Caddy, one of the attorneys for the five men, told a reporter that shortly after 3 a.m. yesterday, he received a call from Barker's wife. "She said that her husband told her to call me if he hadn't called her by 3 a.m.; that it might mean he was in trouble."

All were charged with felonious burglary and with possession of implements of crime. All but Martin were ordered held in \$50,000 bail. Martin, who has ties in the area, was held in \$30,000 bail.

In court yesterday, prosecutors said Sturgis also used the alias Frank Fiorini—an assertion confirmed by Miami area police.

(In 1959, the Federal Aviation Agency identified Fiorini as the pilot of a plane that dropped anti-Castro leaflets over Havana. De-

plings as a "soldier of fortune," Fiorini reportedly was head of the Interna-

tional anticommunist Brigade, after the Bay of Pigs invasion, that trained 23 Cuban exiles who in 1962 landed by boat in Cuba's Matanzas Province and set up guerrilla operations.

Fiorini reportedly is a native of Norfolk, Va., who fought with the Marines in the Pacific during World War II. An early supporter of the Cuban revolution, he reportedly fought with Castro and was named by the premier to be overseer of gambling operations in Havana before the casinos were shut down by the premier.)

The early morning arrests occurred about 40 minutes after a security guard at the Watergate noticed that a door connecting a stairwell with the hotel's basement garage had been taped so it would not lock.

The guard, 24-year-old Frank Wills, removed the tape, but when he passed by about 10 minutes later a new piece had been put on. Wills then called police.

Three officers from the tactical squad responded and entered the stairwell.

From the basement to the sixth floor, they found every door leading from the stairwell to a hallway of the building had been taped to prevent them from locking. At the sixth floor, where the stairwell door leads directly into the Democratic National Committee offices, they found the door had been jimmied.

Led by Sgt. Paul Leper, the tactical force team, which also included Officers John Barret and Carl Sholler, began searching the suite, which includes 29 offices and where approximately 70 persons work.

When the officers entered an office occupied by a secretary to Stanley Griesg, deputy party chairman, one of the suspects jumped up

continued

# CHE GUEVARA'S SECRET AFRICAN WAR

by Colin McGlashan

He was his adopted country's Minister of Industry, and a roving ambassador for revolution, but he was no statesman; for one thing, he could never hide what was on his mind. Addressing the U.N. General Assembly, he mixed a new anger with the familiar cold analysis of colonial-

Faded newsreel film: almost the only evidence of Che Guevara's secret visit to the Congo in 1965

ism. "Western civilisation," he told them, "disguises under its showy front a scene of hyenas and jackals. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have gone to fulfil 'humanitarian' tasks in the Congo. Bloodthirsty butchers who feed on helpless people... The free men of the world must be prepared to avenge the crime committed in the Congo." Three weeks later, on January 2, 1965, as Cubans celebrated the sixth anniversary of their revolution, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara was in Brazzaville planning his second war: the battle for the Congo.

The stakes were high. Like Bolivia, the Congo was the key to a continent: its borders touched nine nations. Victory would throw a socialist girdle around Africa. The rebels against Moise Tshombe's central government had lost Stanleyville in November to Belgian paras and mercenaries in U.S. planes, but still controlled most of the northern half of the country, an area twice the size of France. The big powers were quietly moving in for what looked like the start of an African Vietnam: the Congolese Air Force acquired some elderly fighter-trainers and B-26s from the U.S., with the CIA's Cuban exiles, veterans of the Bay of Pigs, to fly them, plus helicopters and 14 huge C-130 transports with American crews. Russian and Chinese arms were coming by ship through Braz-

ville, in Ilyushin transports from Algeria, in trucks through the Sudan. At Heliopolis, outside Cairo, 3000 Congolese trained under Algerian instructors; others trickled home from Havana and Peking.

Guevara toured the diplomatic and physical boundaries of the growing struggle: Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, Peking; and met rebel leader Gaston Soumaliot in Dar es Salaam for a tour of bases and supply lines around Lake Tanganyika. On March 15 Fidel Castro embraced Guevara at José Martí Airport in Havana; but the exact date on which he joined the struggle in the Congo is unknown; he may have spent several months as a strategist, away from the conflict. In February on, Tshombe's men met a new determined resistance in the north-east; on February 9 a column of 60 Congolese troops of 100 mercenaries (reportedly ambushed with heavy casualties by rebels with bazookas who came up close and stood their ground. A week later 750 government troops were chased out of a small town. For the first time, roads were mined, and Tshombe's River Congo supply lines thrown into chaos by the sabotage of marker buoys. Armoured cars fell into pits that had let lighter traffic pass over them, a classic trick from Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare*. But the struggle in the north-east was waning: supply lines were being closed, Nasser was losing interest.

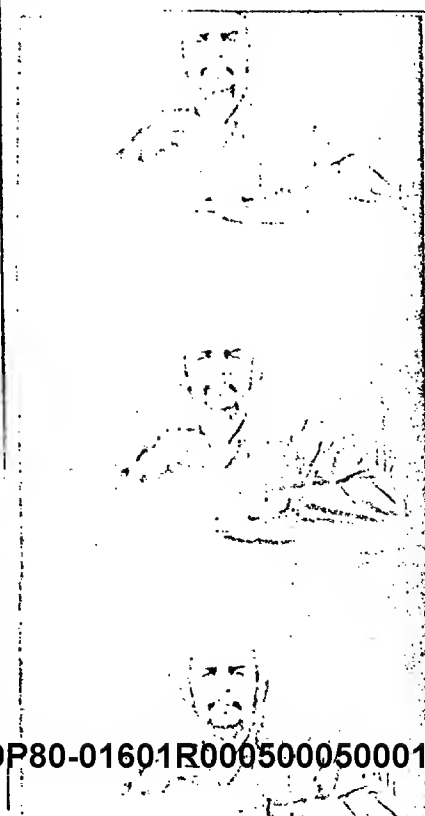
In June, Guevara secretly joined Soumaliot's rebels in their last stand in some of Africa's most savage and inaccessible country just to the west of Lake Tanganyika.

The rebels had plenty of arms, but Congolese army gunboats, with U.S. advisers, were harassing supply lines across the lake; Colonel Mike Hoare was moving north with a strong new force of mercenaries. No account of what happened has been published, although Tshombe's forces found a Cuban's diary, and the Foreign Ministry in Havana is said to have two rolls of film that Guevara took at the time. The official biographies of the Cuban leader do not mention the Congo struggle. At the

start, some determined armoured carriers the signature of the *Sierra Maestra*, but by September it was as good as over. Nasser, almost certainly following CIA pressure, stopped arms shipments to the rebels. Guevara probably returned to Havana in November to tell Castro Cuban support should be withdrawn.

What went wrong? Ciro Roberto Bustos, the Argentinian captured with Régis Debray, was later to tell the Bolivians that Guevara had said of the Congo rebellion: "The human element failed. There was no will to fight. The leaders were corrupt." The way the rebels treated prisoners disgusted him: the butchers were not all on the other side. In a last message - read to the Tricontinental conference in Havana in April 1967 - he wrote: "There are no great popular upheavals. In the Congo these characteristics appeared briefly... but they have been losing strength." The Congo rebels had controlled half the country; for guerrilla theory and its leading practitioner it was a little-known but disastrous defeat.

Colin McGlashan, who has visited Cuba, has written articles on guerrilla warfare.

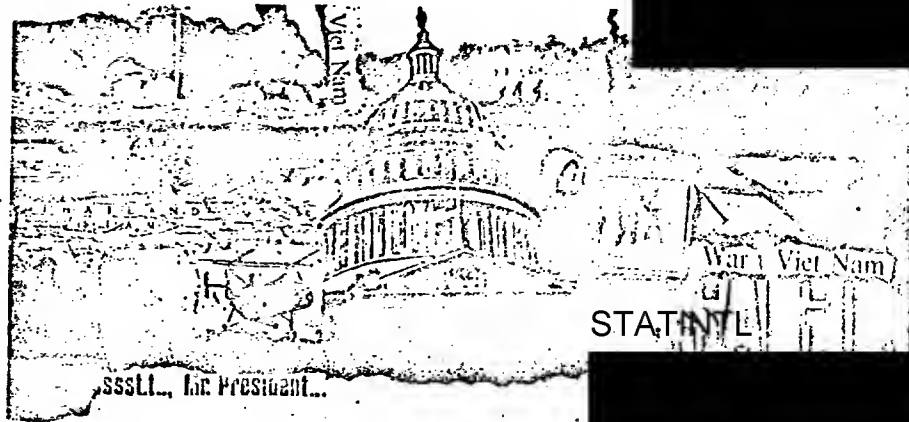




# DIPLOMATIC NOTES

The Ten Commandments of  
the foreign-affairs bureaucracy

by Leslie H. Gelb  
and Morton H. Halperin



THE AVERAGE READER of the *New York Times* in the 1950s must have asked: why don't we take some of our troops out of Europe? Ike himself said we didn't need them all there. Later, in 1961, after the tragicomic Bay of Pigs invasion, the reader asked: how did President Kennedy ever decide to do such a damn fool thing? Or later about Vietnam: why does President Johnson keep on bombing North Vietnam when the bombing prevents negotiations and doesn't get Hanoi to stop the fighting?

Sometimes the answer to these questions is simple. It can be attributed squarely to the President. He thinks it's right. Or he believes he has no choice. As often as not, though, the answer lies elsewhere—in the special interests and procedures of the bureaucracy and the convictions of the bureaucrats.

If you look at foreign policy as a largely rational process of gathering information, setting the alternatives, defining the national interest, and making decisions, then much of what the President does will not make sense. But if you look at foreign policy as bureaucrats pursuing organizational, personal, and domestic political interests, as well as their own beliefs about what is right, you can explain much of the inexplicable.

In pursuing these interests and beliefs, bureaucrats (and that means everyone from Cabinet officials to political appointees to career civil servants) usually follow their own version of the Ten Commandments:

**1. Don't discuss domestic politics on issues involving war and peace.**

On May 11, 1948, President Truman held a meeting in the White House to discuss recognition of the

new state of Israel. Secretary of State George Marshall and State Undersecretary Robert Lovett spoke first. They were against it. It would unnecessarily alienate forty million Arabs. Truman next asked Clark Clifford, then Special Counsel to the President, to speak. Arguing for the moral element of U.S. policy and the need to contain Communism in the Middle East, Clifford favored recognition. As related by Dan Kurzman in *Genesis 1948*, Marshall exploded: "Mr. President, this is not a matter to be determined on the basis of politics. Unless politics were involved, Mr. Clifford would not even be at this conference. This is a serious matter of foreign policy determination . . ." Clifford remained at the meeting, and after some hesitation, the U.S. recognized Israel.

The moral merits of U.S. support of Israel notwithstanding, no one doubts Jewish influence on Washington's policy toward the Middle East. And yet, years later, in their memoirs, both Truman and Dean Acheson denied at great length that the decision to recognize the state of Israel was in any way affected by U.S. domestic politics.

A powerful myth is at work here. It holds that national security is too important, too sacred, to be tainted by crass domestic political considerations. It is a matter of lives and the safety of the nation. Votes and influence at home should count for nothing. Right? Wrong. National security and domestic reactions are inseparable. What could be clearer than the fact that President Nixon's Vietnam troop reductions are geared more to American public opinion than to the readiness of the Saigon forces to

defend themselves? Yet the myth makes it bad form for government officials to talk about domestic politics (except to friends and to reporters off the record) or even to write about politics later in their memoirs.

And what is bad form on the inside would be politically disastrous if it were leaked to the outside. Imagine the press getting hold of a secret government document that said: "President Nixon has decided to visit China to capture the peace issue for the '72 elections. He does not intend or expect anything of substance to be achieved by his trip—except to scare the Russians a little." Few things are more serious than the charge of playing politics with security.

Nevertheless, the President pays a price for the silence imposed by the myth. One cost is that the President's assumptions about what public opinion will and will not support are never questioned. No official, for example, ever dared to write a scenario for President Johnson showing him how to forestall the right-wing McCarthyite reaction he feared if the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam. Another cost is that bureaucrats, in their ignorance of Presidential views, will use their own notions of domestic politics to screen information from the President or to eliminate options from his consideration.

**2. Say what will convince, not what you believe.**

In the early months of the Kennedy Administration, CIA officials responsible for covert operations faced a difficult challenge. President Eisenhower had permitted them to begin training a group of Cuban refugees for an American-supported invasion. To carry out the plan, they then had to win approval from a skeptical new President

ings Institution and former officials of the national security bureaucracy.

continued

23 MAY 1972

# 12 reporters, 2 views of Vietnamese heroism

By JOSEPH NORTH

Article 11

The heroism of Vietnam's patriots always commands the admiration of all foreigners visiting Hanoi, non-Communist as well as Communist. We saw supreme examples of that courage during our stay in North Vietnam last month when the aerial bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi were resumed for the first time since 1968. Le Duan, foremost leader of the Vietnam Workers Party, spoke to us of his countrymen's confident courage and the reasons for it.

Anthony Lewis of the New York Times is now in Hanoi and is also reporting that heroism, that confidence, seeking—honestly it seems to me—the explanation for it.

That calm fortitude and certainty of victory, within the horrors of war, supplies, he writes (NYT, May '20) "an air of grotesque unreality to life in Hanoi." No sooner had the firing of anti-aircraft guns ended than "a girl bicycles by balancing baskets of spinach at either end of a bamboo pole." The echoes of the exploding bombs had scarcely died out when he hears a record of "Swan Lake" coming from a window that "happens to be in the home of the mayor of Hanoi."

He marvels at these "paradoxes," as he himself, like all other Westerners under the bombs "feels fear." There remains a "strange tropical tranquillity."

He writes that "it is not only that the setting seems odd for a country that has been at war almost continuously for 27 years. It is unreal that these people could have been fighting the most powerful country in the world."

It seems that Lewis, an intelligent observer, is doing his best to comprehend the basis for this heroism and confidence. But involved is the matter of judging socialist reality from the basis of capitalist values. The result is generally a bias that blinds.

We witnessed many of the scenes Lewis described in the Times of Sunday May 21. We also met one of the freedom fighters from South Vietnam, at the mission of the Pro-

visional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam—Comrade Phan Thi Nguyen.

Lewis reports that "she talked with a great animation and smiled shyly," and later described simply how American soldiers had "killed her parents and eight brothers' and sisters in a village near Danang, South Vietnam, in August 1965." Lewis then continues her story: "At the age of 15 she stole explosives, made a mine and killed 7 Americans." She was captured, tortured by the Americans and South Vietnamese. "She said they nailed both her hands to a wooden table." Eventually she was rescued by guerrillas and joined them. In 1965 she walked to Hanoi—500 miles in three months.

Those of our readers who followed this series may remember the young guerrilla medical worker who asked us how Angela Davis was faring in her case, and wondered what the Vietnamese people can do to help her win freedom.

This was the same heroine Lewis interviewed. His private immediate reaction to her story was to ask the question: "Propaganda?" And he answered himself, "Of course." But he was troubled by "Miss Nguyen's demeanor." She appeared to him to be on the up and up. He concluded "the blood-curdling story" could be true. "There are horrors on both sides," he adds.

As I say, capitalist philosophy conditions a man's mind, renders it difficult for him to comprehend truth. "Horrors on both sides"—as though Vietnamese pa-

palm on the pupils and teachers of De Witt Clinton High School or leveling St. Patrick's Cathedral to the ground. But it is precisely the equivalent of all that that the U.S. armed forces are doing right now, while Mr. Lewis is under the bombs.

Nonetheless Lewis is groping and I credit him for it. It is difficult for a New York Times man, and Lewis is among the most reasonable, to understand the phenomenon of a people's war, to level with the overwhelming majority of a nation's populace that is united by love of country and simultaneously, by a revolutionary spirit—socialism.

It is truly hard for Lewis to grapple with these basic reasons for the heroism and calm certainty of the Vietnamese people. He writes that he was told—(as we were)—of the 4,000 year history of the Vietnamese people forever confronting invaders, always more numerous, the Chinese dynasts from the North, the Mongols of Ghengis Khan, the French of the past century. And always the Vietnamese were finally able to oust the invaders from the land.

That history is part of the composite that goes into the deathless heroism of the Vietnamese in the conditions of today.

But there is more to it than that.

Le Duan, first secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party, briefed us on the party's assessment of the reasons for the epic resistance today. Ho Chi Minh transcended the limitations of "the nationalism of the intellectuals and the bourgeois-oriented revolutionaries of that period" before 1930. He embraced Marxism Leninism at an early age, deciding it "was like food and drink for a hungry and thirsty traveler."

You can find these words in his book "The Vietnamese Revolution" (International Publishers). The combination of Marxism-Leninism, the most revolu-

CHARLESTON, S.C.  
POST

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MAY 18 1972

## Where It Comes From

A record-setting heroin capture made by city police ties in with news from Miami that the Southeastern part of the United States is being increasingly flooded with imports of hard drugs.

A New York Times story printed last week discussed how enterprising Frenchmen, South Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cuban refugees are turning South Florida into the "premier American entry point" for smuggled heroin and cocaine — which then moves outward across neighboring states. Former members of a Free Cuban Brigade which the U.S. trained for an abortive landing at the Bay of Pigs 10 years ago are said to be prominent in the trade. They use the skills learned from the CIA and the U.S. Army in jungle training camps long ago.

It is important for Americans to be able to identify with accuracy the sources from which drugs flow into their own country lest they be caught looking in the wrong direction — toward China for instance. Letters to the editor in which readers warn of Chinese Communists trying to soften brains by selling drugs to U.S. citizens not infrequently cross our desks, but the evidence points in another direction.

A little bit of the right kind of reading would show Americans that it has been white people who historically have victimized Orientals with opium and its derivatives, not the other way around.

Western troubles with China today stem in large part from a war fought by Englishmen a hundred years ago to force Chinese to accept cargoes of opium produced in India.

According to figures produced for editors by State Department narcotic officials at a recent "background" briefing, there is no discernible traffic in hard drugs out of the Peoples Republic of China.

Something like 80 per cent of the heroin in this country has been coming from Turkey — though that may be changed by new agreements with the Turks. About 15 per cent comes from Mexico and the rest from Southeast Asia.

Until recently most of the hard stuff moved into the northeastern U.S. via processing plants in Marseille, but new pressures on "manufacturers" have resulted in rerouting to South America — which seems to account for the upsurge of imports at Miami.

# Pilot Defector From Cuba Helps

## Exiles Get Off the Ground

By DON BEDWELL  
Herald Aviation Writer

In 1960, Captain Eddie Ferrer diverted, to Miami a Cuban airliner under his command, holding prisoner a cockpit guard who had been assigned to prevent pilot defections.

Today, he flies for a major U.S. airline, with some apprehension over his fate should one of his jetliners be hijacked back to Cuba.

Ferrer, who began flying at nine and was only 17 when he received his air transport rating, is one of many Cuban exile pilots who have carved out new aviation careers for themselves here.

ABOUT 250 Cubans have revived a 30-year-old Havana organization called the Cuban Pilots Association — or, as their membership cards read, the Asociacion de Pilotos Aviadores de Cuba.

Ferrer was a guiding force in the restitution of that organization and now serves as its president.

"A lot of Cuban pilots are flying today because of his efforts in looking for positions for pilots as far away as Africa," said Bill Alexander, a Cuban exile who flew wing to wing with Ferrer at the Bay of Pigs.

"Eddie persuaded me to qualify again and to join him flying for Mackey Airlines."

ALEXANDER and Ferrer are two of six pilots now in flying assignments for Eastern Airlines, which acquired three when it purchased Mackey in 1957.

The remaining three, according to Ferrer, are former pilots with Miami-based Air-lift International — a cargo airline that still counts about 10 Cubans on its pilot mem-  
ity list.

"Modern Air Transport has a couple flying in Germany," Alexander said. "Air Spain, Lanica, Southern Air Transport and Southeast all have a few."

**THE HIJACKING** of a Southeast flight to Cuba — and the seizure of its Cuban exile pilot by the Castro government — led to the temporary grounding of Eastern's Cubans.

But Ferrer is again flying 727 trijets while Alexander divides his time between flight-test assignments and various goodwill activities involving Eastern and Miami's Latin American community.

About 80 per cent of the association's members work out of Miami, with the remainder mostly in New York or San Juan.

**MANY ARE** former pilots for Cubana Airlines, Aerovias Q, Expreso, Cuba Aeropostal, the Cuban Air Force or Navy.

"It's very difficult for a Cuban to fly with an American airline," said Lou Palacio, a commercial pilot who is working in sales for Eastern after trying for five years to get a flying assignment.

"It's simply a case where the airlines can get people coming out of the service with jet time and other qualifications we don't have."

**FERRER**, who was Cuba's youngest airline captain at 24, was turned down by Eastern in 1962 because he was not an American citizen. (He now holds U.S. citizenship.)

More humiliating to him was his first failure to pass his air transport rating test as he sought to requalify as an airline pilot in this country.

"I flunked because I couldn't speak the language well," Ferrer recalled with a grin. "I was so embarrassed that I promised myself I'd get every license the United States offered."

**HE NOW HOLDS** a string of ratings ranging from ground instructor to aircraft dispatcher.

Ferrer flew into political asylum in this country 12 years ago after passengers helped him overpower a guard watching over the DC3 he commanded.

He quickly joined the exile invasion force in Guatemala and piloted a transport supplying troops at the ill-fated Bay of Pigs raid.

"When I got back from the Bay of Pigs, I went to work scraping boats on the Miami River for \$1 an hour, then started in as a milkman."

**SOON, HE MOVED** on to flying United Nations missions in Africa and ultimately joined Mackey.

Ferrer's vice president at the Cuban Pilots Association is Mike Acosta, an Eastern ground instructor. Secretary of the group is Mike Murciano, chief of operations for Lanica of Nicaragua.

Alexander describes the association as "sort of a fraternal organization," which offers both social activities and a ground school which Palacio says "gives the Cuban driving a taxicab an opportunity to keep his flying ratings current" until he can locate an aviation job.

"My work is to keep the pilots unified," Ferrer said. "Unfortunately, most of the Cubans here are disunited. We have been an example of unity in the Cuban community."

29 April 1972 5 May 1972

## Counter-intelligence

### NETWORK

By Heinz Höhne and Hermann Zolling.

Secker and Warburg. 381 pages. £3.50.

It is in the nature of things that a democratic state's secret intelligence service cannot please all its citizens all the time; and, notwithstanding what other states do, there are always quixotic innocents who would dispense altogether with the apparatus of spies and spying. Should the secret service go to work thoroughly it is charged with anti-democratic conduct. Should it be easy-going it is scolded and mocked for any nasty knock that may have taken the government by surprise. Remember the outburst of indignation at the failings of the Central Intelligence Agency that followed the humiliation of the Bay of Pigs?

Before they came to power in Bonn, the west German Social Democrats rebuked General Gehlen's Federal Intelligence Service for superfluous snooping and uncontrollable mischief-making in general, perpetrated in the name of combating communist subversion. But as federal chancellor, Herr Brandt asked: "What do we have our information services for? Why did no one tell me anything?" when, only a fortnight after he had signed the non-aggression treaty with Poland in Warsaw in December, 1970, his co-signatory was ousted from office in unexpectedly tumultuous circumstances.

To be fair to General Gehlen's many critics, the first of their objections was by no means far-fetched. That was that the Federal Intelligence Service, whose allotted field of operations was abroad (mainly east of the Elbe), was poaching ambitiously on the home ground reserved for the Office for the Protection of the Federal Constitution. But they also argued that General Gehlen seemed to be bent simultaneously on accumulating secret personal power on a scale harmful to the workings of democracy. In the process, they say, he enlisted the help of several gentlemen who had learned their trade under Himmler and Heydrich. Herr Höhne and the late Hermann Zolling write for the most part convincingly and enthrallingly of Gehlen's rise, ascendancy, and decline. Their book is composed largely of a series of articles that were published originally in the iconoclastic news magazine *Der Spiegel*. They are

so well informed that it is surprising that no action has been taken since under the German equivalent of the Official Secrets Act. In the authors' index to sources there are repeated references to official reports and diaries now "in private ownership."

Critical as they are of the Federal Intelligence Service, the authors acknowledge its indispensability "so long as the insulated social systems of the east close their doors to a world eager for detente, so long as the federal government in the clear interests of west Germany must seek to discover other countries' secrets in order to protect itself against surprises." But they recommend that the service should set geographical priorities for gathering intelligence, limiting general reporting as a rule to areas and subjects not dealt with by west German diplomatic representatives.

2 MAY 1972

STATINTL

## Eyewitness report

**YESTERDAY'S SPEECH BY** Gus Hall, Communist presidential candidate, in Union Square marked the beginning of a nationwide campaign to tell the American people first hand what U.S. bombing has meant in North Vietnam. Participating in the effort will be other members of the delegation: Jarvis Tyner, vice presidential candidate, Rasheed Storey, and Joseph North.

On the first leg of his recent journey, in socialist Cuba, Hall found Fidel Castro, the other revolutionary leaders, and the people passionately concerned with the struggles of the Vietnamese people. Half a world away, the people of Cuba can see in Vietnam what CIA victory at the Bay of Pigs would have meant. ✓

Hall and Tyner, the Communist Party, and non-party supporters are making the ending of the Vietnam war the focal point of the party's election campaign. The wider the delegation's message is carried, the greater the thrust for peace. We urge our readers to give it all the help they can.

It would be a serious contribution for to peace also if the Senate Foreign Relations Committee heard from Hall and Tyner, first hand, what the world would look like from under the B-52s.



WASHINGTONIAN  
MAY 1972

STATINTL

STATINTL

# Joe Alsop

By Tom Kelly

## The Voice of Power Glory

## God Gloom and Doom

In Joe Alsop's pleasant garden room four plump caged doves are cooing. Joe says when asked that he does not like doves—that out of their cages they are dirty, mean, and hard to manage.

Joe sits under the skylight sipping a tisane from a huge blue and white china cup and the doves in two large, elaborate cages pay him no mind.

They're in and Joe's out but nobody's free.

Joe is a blue blooded falcon, a rare and endangered species. He is a falcon by inheritance, a member of the establishment, a natural born leader, a cousin of leaders, a classmate of leaders, a former roommate of leaders, and the chosen voice of the pedigreed "first-rate men" for thirty years.

For generations we've all been run by the East Coast cousins. The first cousins went to Groton and the second cousins to St. Paul's. The Irish Catholic fifth cousins were named Kennedy—but that was later. First they were coachmen and named Pat and Mike. They went to Choate.

It is difficult to tell the cousins without an alumni bulletin. Cousins are not measured by blood alone, but establishment cousins do tend to marry establishment cousins and produce genealogical cousins.

There are several (de facto) Jewish cousins named Lehmann, Ochs, and Morgenthau, but there are no Italian or Polish or Bulgarian cousins. Black people are not ready to be cousins though some can be classmates. It is customary to speak well of the late Frederick Douglass.

Some cousins chuckle a lot and Joe's blood cousin Teddy Roosevelt grinned and shouted "Bully" but most were serious faced and did not laugh out loud. This was partly because many were from New England but also because they were born to assume the awful responsibility of running the world.

Running the world is not easy. Joe took up the burden in 1932. He was a strange youth—fat, an honor graduate of Groton and Harvard, son of a roar-

ing Connecticut reactionary father and a mother who was as well connected as the Connecticut Light & Power Co. He was cousins to everyone important south of Portland and north of Philadelphia. He was literally a cousin to all the Roosevelts—Teddy, Franklin, Eleanor, and Alice Blue Gown.

When Joe was ready for the professional world his grandmother (a cousin of God's) decided that he was not to be a businessman, diplomat, banker, Episcopal bishop, or president of Harvard. It was suggested that he get a job on a newspaper, a startling idea. Cousins and classmates owned newspapers, of course, but they didn't work on them. Joe had a few precedents. Alexander Woolcott, who if not a cousin was at least invited to cousins' homes, was cutting a choleric swath through New York culture, and Bob Benchley, a blithe spirit but a Harvard boy, was working for magazines.

Ogden Reid hired Joe at Joe's grandmother's suggestion and sent him to report to the *Herald Tribune's* city editor, a disenchanted man named Stanley Walker. City editors are all low-born. Stanley had difficulty believing his own eyes since Joe, though only twenty-two, was 245 pounds, dressed in well-cut vest and watch chain, and possessed of an extraordinarily arch accent that suggested simultaneously the Queen Mother, Cardinal Newman, and the fatigue of a gentleman who'd just swum the English Channel backwards.

He also couldn't type.

Still, no one is perfect. Joe was broadly read and he could write a clear, ominous sentence. Alex Woolcott decided that Joe was the only educated youth he'd met since his own college days. Alex was given to extraordinary judgments—he was against sex and he believed Louisa May Alcott was a great writer.

Joe was soon a featured byline writer at the *Herald Tribune* and in less time than it takes to add up the Vietnam election returns he was the co-proprietor of a Washington column—his partner being a gentleman named Robert Kintner, a non-cousin, who would in time become head of NBC and an advisor to



**KENNEDY  
NEMESIS**

Although officials at GOP Headquarters recently came out with the "information" that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass) would at the last moment storm the Democrat Convention and grab the Presidential nomination, according to political insiders no such move is in the making. They cite the following fact, which has been kept secret for nine years, to back their certitude that Teddy will remain on the sidelines during the coming Presidential election, regardless of whether the Democrat Convention in Miami will want to draft him or not.

Back in 1963, shortly after President Kennedy's assassination, Robert F. Kennedy, while he was still Attorney-General, conducted his own investigation of the death of his brother. That private investigation, which ran parallel with the official inquiry into the magnicide conducted by the Warren Commission, was featured by trips to this country by an Inspector Hamilton, former Chief Inspector of Scotland Yard. Hamilton, an old friend of Joseph P. Kennedy, with whom he had many contacts during the latter's ambassadorship in London, had been retained by Bobby to help unravel the real truth about the murder of J.F.K.

After long conferring with the members of the Kennedy family and making a few discreet soundings with his own contacts, Hamilton zeroed on the fact that the assassination of John Kennedy had occurred very shortly after his brother Bobby had made some preliminary moves of taking direct, personal control of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, whose leadership he blamed for the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Hamilton, following the "*cui prodest*" ("whom does it benefit?") reasoning, reached the conclusion that Bobby's move to seize control of the C.I.A. had something to do with the murder of his elder brother. ✓

After Bobby's own assassination in 1968, it is not known whether Teddy has the documentation Bobby had collected in his private investigation or whether it has been destroyed.

But apparently Teddy has become convinced of the correctness of Hamilton's conclusion, and furthermore, considers it to have been further vindicated by Bobby's own death—which occurred within a matter of days after he threw his hat into the presidential ring and was on the way to put himself again in the position to take over the free-spending, powerful cloak-and-dagger agency.

Teddy Kennedy receives an average of about ten death threats a week via anonymous phone calls and letters. Voice prints of the phone calls

and copies of the letters are turned over to the U.S. Secret Service. None of the culprits have been apprehended. Incidentally, it has been decided that Kennedy does not need Secret Service protection since he is a "non-candidate." All the other announced presidential candidates have a Secret Service detail assigned for their protection during the campaign. Significantly, as previously reported in WO, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger exercises direct control over the CIA, FBI, Secret Service and all other security and intelligence agencies.

# The Power to Make Wars

STATINTL

By RICHARD B. MORRIS

Prof. Eugene Rostow's recent analysis of the Javits-Stennis war-powers bill constitutes so serious a distortion of American constitutional history and so warped an interpretation of the bill's provisions and likely effects that it should not go unanswered. Nothing in the bill justifies his condemnation of it as a "bold" bid for constitutional supremacy unrivalled "since the impeachment of Andrew Johnson" nor his contention that it is based upon a legal theory which would permit "a plenipotentiary Congress to dominate the Presidency (and the courts) more completely than the House of Commons governs in Great Britain."

This is nonsense. If any branch of the Government has usurped the war-making powers of the Constitution it has been the executive arm and not Congress, with consequences that have proven detrimental to the national interest.

The Constitution is clear on its allocation of the war powers. That document clearly distinguished between declaring war and supporting it on the one hand, and conducting its operations on the other. Article I, section 8 vests in Congress the right to declare war and to raise and support armies, but limits to a maximum of two years the appropriation of money to their use. On the other hand, Article II, section 2 describes the President as Commander in Chief.

Throughout the debates on the drafting of the Constitution and its ratification one finds a deep concern about executive usurpation matched by an equal concern (and remarkable prescience) that the war powers remain lodged in the legislative branch of the Government, wherein they had been previously vested from the start of the American Revolution. At the same time the Founding Fathers made certain that the executive arm which they were in the throes of fashioning was given emergency powers for military defense.

To allay widespread fears that the warmaking powers under the Constitution would subvert republican institu-

tions the authors of The Federalist papers made a point of construing the President's role rather narrowly. The powers with caution. Even Washington's authority to issue a proclamation of neutrality seemed moot, James Mad-

ison contending that neutrality was merely the negative side of a declaration of war and required Congressional approval.

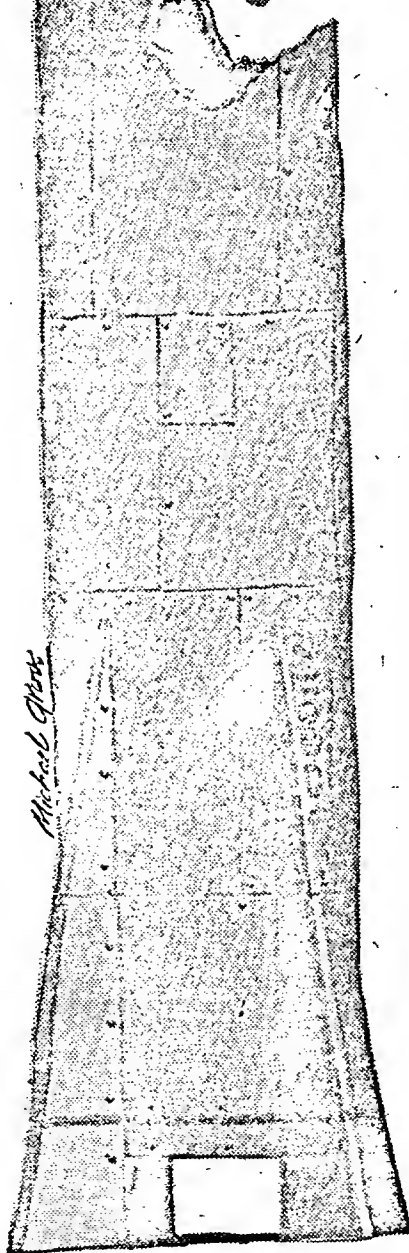
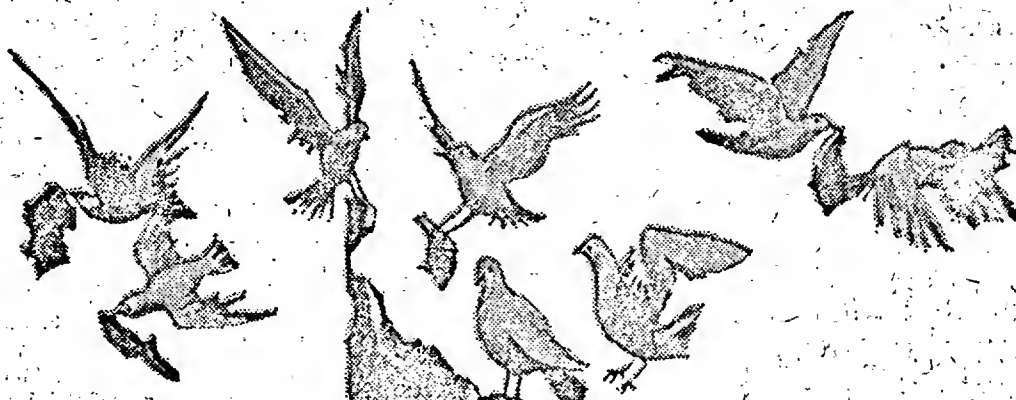
It is the undeclared war now being waged in Indochina, not the prospect of passage of the Javits-Stennis bill, which is damaging our prestige and credibility abroad, tragically dividing the American people, and diverting resources from the most urgent tasks of domestic reconstruction. In my considered judgment that bill sets the constitutional balance true. It provides urgently needed clarification of the warmaking powers in the spirit of the drafters and ratifiers of the Constitution without hampering the President in his capacity as Commander in Chief to act in defense of national security.

Professor Rostow and others protest that the Javits-Stennis bill would have inhibited the President in the Cuban missile confrontation. They scrupulously avoid mentioning the misconceived Bay of Pigs invasion or the dubious intervention in Santo Domingo. What the bill seeks to eliminate are brinkmanship and tiltmanship, the bankruptcy of the latter strategy all too evident in our recent posture during the India-Pakistan war.

The fact of the matter is that our disastrous involvement in Indochina did not come as a flashing meteor in the skies but resulted from a state of political erosion in that area going back a quarter of a century. Indubitably during that considerable period of time there must have been some moment when the issue of war or peace could have been put to Congress on a basis more candid and substantial than the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Instead of candid communication between the executive and Congress we have had unparalleled doubletalk, evasion, and concealment. We have seen a phantom undeclared war, which was supposed to contract, continue to escalate, one which was supposed to shorten, spitefully drag on, one which now shrinks on land and expands in the skies.

Richard B. Morris is Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia.



## Maintaining an empire—the General explains how

# Swords and Plowshares

By General Maxwell Taylor.  
Illustrated. 434 pp. New York:  
W. W. Norton & Co. \$10.

By NEIL SHEEHAN

This book is bad history, but in its own way, a good memoir, for it tells a great deal about Gen. Maxwell Taylor and those other statesmen of the 1960's who led us into the Indochina war. Taylor's account of some of the events of that period, such as the involvement of the Kennedy Administration in the overthrow of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, is so at variance with the documentary record now available to us in the Pentagon Papers and elsewhere that the kindest description one can give his version is to say that it reflects the wish-think reconstruction of the past in which men of power are prone to indulge themselves in their memoirs.

That kind of factual truth is not, however, what one ought to expect in a memoir. Rather, one would hope to find truths of character, attitude and perspective. Taylor's memoir is filled with enough of these kinds of truths, inadvertently at times perhaps, to make well worthwhile the task of forging through the occasionally stilted language and the bureaucratic detail which interrupt its narrative flow. One emerges from the book seeing more lucidly the realities of the foreign policy of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, in contrast to the illusions we held at the time.

Maxwell Davenport Taylor and his theory of the use of military forces in the conduct of foreign policy came into their own with the Inauguration of John F. Kennedy in January, 1961. Taylor's exemplary military career—born in Keytesville, Mo., on Aug. 26, 1901, he graduated from West Point in 1922, commanded the 101st Airborne Division in World War II and the Eighth Army in Korea—had come to a seeming end in 1959 because of his profound disagreement with the

Eisenhower Administration's nuclear strategy of "massive retaliation."

In "The Uncertain Trumpet," published the year after his resignation as Army Chief of Staff, Taylor had argued his doctrine of "flexible response" — the development of strong conventional forces to enable the United States to conduct limited wars below the nuclear threshold as an effective tool of its foreign policy. In his memoirs, Taylor defines limited war as "rational war" to achieve "national interests," or "a resort to arms for reasons other than survival."

The first task the new President set him to was indicative of the kindred minds Taylor found among the statesmen of the Kennedy Administration and then of President Johnson's. Mr. Kennedy had him take leave from his position as president of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York to conduct an exhaustive review of the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

To demonstrate what Mr. Kennedy desired from the investigation, General Taylor quotes from the letter of instruction the new President gave him:

"It is apparent that we need to take a close look at all our practices and programs in the areas of military and paramilitary, guerrilla and anti-guerrilla activities which fall short of outright war. I believe we need to strengthen our work in this area. In the course of your study, I hope that you will give special attention to the lessons which can be learned from recent events in Cuba." Mr. Kennedy told Taylor that he hoped the General's report would help by "drawing from past experience, to chart a path towards the future."

As Taylor comments in his memoir:

"There were several interesting points in this letter. One was the almost passing mention of the Bay of Pigs, which was to be the primary subject of our investigation. Another was the broad invitation to make excursions into any aspect of limited and guerrilla warfare, the first intimation I had received of the President's deep interest in these activities later lumped together for convenience under the heading of counterinsurgency."

Neither in Mr. Kennedy's letter, nor in Taylor's memoirs, however, is the question ever addressed of whether the United States should be invading a foreign country in the name of counterinsurgency. That question, Taylor's memoir implicitly makes clear, had already been answered. The object of Taylor's Bay of Pigs investigation was simply to learn how to do it better elsewhere the next time.

And that is the heart of Taylor's memoir. It is the story of a man and his fellow statesmen who, in the psychological atmosphere and through the ideological forms of the cold war were actually engaged in maintaining and enlarging an American empire through the use of force.

Taylor expresses no essential misgiving over the termination of this course in the

Indochina war, with its cost of 55,000 American lives so far, well over \$100 billion and a million to two million Indochinese lives. He believes that President Nixon has a good chance to attain the central American objective of preserving an anti-Communist South Vietnam. He concludes that, "Personally, I would expect the probable gains of victory to exceed its anticipated costs by a substantial margin." His regrets over Indochina relate to how force was applied there and to the lack of stamina the country displayed.

"But even in victory we cannot completely redeem the unheroic image created by many aspects of our behavior in the course of the conflict," he writes. "The record of our violent internal divisions, our loss of morale, and our psychotic inclination to self-flagellation and self-denigration justifies serious doubts as to the performance to be expected from us in any future crisis—an uncertainty which will becloud our prestige and diminish our ability to influence world events as long as it lasts."

He blames the news media and the antiwar movement for much of this "unashamed defeatism" and says they caused unwarranted "demoralization and lack of confidence" even within President Johnson's inner circle.

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# Life's a Capital Idea

By Caroline Drewes

Patrick William Hope Garrard, a tall man with a long stride and an easy understated manner, is obsessed with succeeding. He acknowledges, "I'm not saying that's good."

Another passion: Politics. He would like to run for political office someday.

"What holds people back if the fear of failure," he says. "There's nothing wrong with failure as I see it, there are worse things." And quickly, he qualifies. "Let's say I live another 40 years. It won't bother me if it turns out I'm not successful. But I will have great contempt for myself if I know there were periods when I lacked the courage to try something I believed in."

Who is Patrick Garrard? Sitting on a bench in Union Square, under a noonday sun, in a pale gray suit, a striped shirt, bright red tie, with his graying sideburns the proper length, he might be a Montgomery Street stockbroker. His pronunciation of the words "out," "about" and "been" give him away. He is a Canadian who maintains apartments in Toronto and New York, a former journalist who once packaged mail order promotions, a man who has made and lost money and thinks he is about to make a lot.

At 34, he is editor and co-founder of a year-old populist tabloid magazine, The Capitalist Reporter, which describes "concrete ways to make money." The ways also are unusual and-or screwball. The philosophy behind the venture: "Everyone wants to make a lot of money without putting in very much."

Typical articles: "How a 15 year old makes \$20,000 a year running a dog-walking agency." And "How I was given \$100,000 Worth of Rare and Historical Newspapers — Libraries are discarding historical newspapers after they've been microfilmed." Or "Used Electric Chairs — Priceless Americana up for grabs." (The magazine, insist Garrard and publisher Steven Simonyi-Gindele, is serious, not a put-on.)

This is editor Garrard's first visit to San Francisco in 10 years. He is suffering from a bad cold. He has no appetite for lunch, but he has had a steak for breakfast. And he is pleased because the bellboy who carried his luggage at the St. Francis Hotel, by one of those beautiful coincidences, turns out to be a Filipino graduate engineer who did office work for "The Capitalist" before coming west.

"I like to accomplish things, I've always been work-oriented," he says, returning to the subject of Success. "Maybe I'm trying to compensate for having had little money and security as a child, trundled from boarding school to boarding school. I was born five days before my father died of cancer." Wryly he adds, "It was a race between who went first and who arrived first."

Once he took a year off to "bum his way around the world." But even then he was free-lancing. He spent the entire time in the Caribbean, wound up in Cuba just before the Bay of Pigs. "They suspected me of being a CIA spy and threw me in jail, where there were 40 prisoners packed into a space 20 feet square. Some were shot."

"What saved me was my Canadian citizenship, I had been fooling around with the underground. As it was, I was interrogated by Manuel Pineiro, second in command of secret police, who is known as 'Red Beard,' and who is now in charge of Cuban activities in Latin America. But there was no torture that I saw, contrary to reports."

A loner by nature, a man who says he would rather read than talk, and who "chews" his way through countless periodicals, Patrick is a bachelor. "My life style now is 110 percent work and I couldn't do this if I were married. I have to have a challenge, and what I'm doing is an adventure." But, looking ahead, he is honestly afraid of loneliness and thinks he will marry someday.

You ask if he feels money is the most important thing in life. "No, no, no, the most important thing is doing what you like," he answers. "I regard money as a tool." (He has ideas about other publications but won't discuss them. "I'm superstitious.")

He is not a spender, he says, nor a gourmet, and material possessions mean little to him. "I lose things easily," he says and the sun gleams on the gold ring with his family crest, a copy of his father's ring, which he does not wear because of the fear of losing it.

What does he want then? Power? "No doubt," he says, smiling. "When the money making process gets easy it's no fun. It's fun building something."

Patrick comes back to politics. "I never liked formal education," he says parenthetically. "The most valuable experiences of my life were first, newspaper reporting and second ringing 10,000 doorbells selling Fuller brushes. I was shy, and it forced me to an understanding of human nature. What that brought me was an enormous contempt for intellectual arrogance because I found there is an enormous amount of wisdom inherent in people. That is still totally what I believe."



27 MAR 1972

# Shrewd With Pen or Sword

By ANATOLE BROYARD

**SWORDS AND PLOWSHARES.** By Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor. 134 pages. Illustrated. Norton. \$10.

In his "Swords and Plowshares," Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor has fired off enough shots to start a private war. Among other things, he says that all too often the people who talk most about the Vietnam war know relatively little about it. He includes in this indictment many observers who are professionally concerned with the war because they work in government, in newspapers or in television.

Though this is what we might expect a general to say, we must keep in mind that this does not automatically invalidate it. A common view is that military men have a definite interest in war and cannot be trusted to talk or write about it without bias: it is not easy to fit General Taylor into this stereotype. He treats the waging of war as a business of cause and effect, as an attempt to carry out the government's orders with a minimum cost of lives, money and national prestige. His job has been to advise the three Administrations he served how best to get, through the exertion of the necessary military pressures, not what he wants, but what they want.

## Failure of Communication

If, as popular opinion has it, military men cannot be expected to understand politics, it is a reasonable corollary of this view that politicians cannot be expected to understand military matters. To make things even more difficult, government officials are often unable to hear hard truths about the conduct of war because these are drowned out by the cries of their constituents. Failure of communication is a slogan familiar enough by now to be embroidered on samplers, and this is what General Taylor sees as the root of our current troubles.

A World War II hero and commander of the Eighth Army in Korea, General Taylor was appointed Army Chief of Staff by President Eisenhower. He incurred his disfavor, however, by opposing the Dulles doctrine of "massive retaliation," which, in his opinion, naively assumed that the threat of our nuclear weapons would suffice to deter Communist expansion or aggression. It had never been a question of nuclear weapons, says General Taylor, and the lessons of Korea, Cuba and Vietnam have borne him out.

President Kennedy agreed with General Taylor's doctrine of "flexible response" as set forth in his book "The Uncertain Trumpet." After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the President recalled the general from the presidency of Lincoln Center to study that operation and find out why it had been such a humiliating failure. Working with Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Adm. Arleigh Burke of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Director Allen Dulles of the C.I.A., General Taylor found that the failure of communications had been nothing short of "massive" on this occasion.

While General Taylor delivered his report to a group that included the President, Secretary of State Rusk, Secretary of Defense McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, McGeorge Bundy and senior C.I.A. officials—it was the first time that any of them except the President had had the entire operation laid out before him. A model of contrast was the President's handling of the Cuban missile crisis. Knowing exactly where he stood, having had all the alternatives evaluated, he did what he felt was necessary, and succeeded in calling Khrushchev's bluff.

The most explosive part of "Swords and Plowshares" deals, of course, with the Vietnam war. The general was our ambassador in Saigon in 1964-65. Our policy of "gradualism"—piecemeal employment of military force at slowly mounting levels of intensity—has "ended by assuring a prolonged war which gave time not only for more men to lose their lives but also for the national patience to wear thin, the antiwar movement to gain momentum and hostile propaganda to make inroads at home and abroad." The general feels that, to get the North Vietnamese to the negotiating table, we conceded away all our bargaining points—the various forms of military pressure—and thus arrived at the "poker" table in Paris practically broke. He described negotiation as "a changeling objective which was progressively replacing the freedom and security of South Vietnam as the controlling objective of American policy."

The author sees two alternatives to "gradualism" if we are faced with another such crisis. (He uses Israel as a possible case in point to demonstrate the difficulty of avoiding involvement abroad.) We can either "use military force swiftly and decisively and risk the international consequences," or we can "do nothing."

Speaking of the present conflict he says that, if anyone is guilty of prejudice, it is our media. By dramatizing that particular part of the war with which they are daily confronted, they encourage their readers and viewers to generalize on insufficient evidence—and, in fact, often do so themselves.

## U.S. as 'Declining Power'

The general's parting shot is shrewdly calculated: he sees the United States as entering the '70's as a "declining power." Even if we were to achieve our original objectives in Vietnam, he says, "we cannot completely redeem the unheroic image created by many aspects of our behavior in the course of the conflict. The record of our violent internal divisions, our loss of morale, and our psychotic inclination to self-flagellation and self-denigration justifies serious doubts as to the performance to be expected from us in any future crisis..."

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that one would have to know more about military matters than General Taylor does himself to dispute most of the points he makes. If he is biased, it doesn't show: his tone is almost hypnotically reasonable. What he seems to be saying is that, if we are going to enter into wars for moral reasons, we must have the moral tenderness keep us from carrying them to a successful conclusion.

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## Books

# Kennedy Policy

**COLD WAR AND COUNTERREVOLUTION: The Foreign Policy of John F. Kennedy.** By Richard J. Walton

(Viking, 250 pp., \$7.95)

**THE KENNEDY DOCTRINE.** By Louise FitzSimons.

(Random House, 275 pp., \$7.95)

Reviewed by

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The reviewer is a member of the editorial page staff of The Washington Post.

Granted, John Kennedy gave many Americans the exhilarating sense that their country was capable of achieving its national ideals. He had style. He died tragically. And he left two brothers to carry on. These are facts. But none of them addresses the central question, still largely unasked almost a decade after his death, of the Kennedy Presidency: Was he a good leader?

The books by his aides assume he was and go on from there to elaborate his putative successes, describing his out-and-out failures either as contributions to his growth or as consequences of poor advice, and projecting the uncompleted parts of his public career to a positive end. Lyndon Johnson's administration inevitably distracted serious attention from John Kennedy's; his excesses in Vietnam overshadowed Kennedy's ambivalences and by that time Robert Kennedy's critique of Johnson spread the impression that John Kennedy would have criticized him too. Now, in a Republican administration, any official comment on any Kennedy, no matter how insightful or fair, simply cannot be expected to avoid the automatic countercharge of partisanship.

The value of these two books is that they examine John Kennedy's leadership—in foreign affairs—critically, unofficially, in a non-partisan way, and from what I would describe as the viewpoint of the rare consensus, one which holds that since World War

II the United States has misused its great power, most notably in Vietnam, and now it must pay a price and seek a new way.

This is not strictly a consensus of the left; much of it is shared by President Nixon. Indeed, it is a measure of the distance we have come that the President has taken away from most of his would-be Democratic challengers much of the supposed John Kennedy ground they might otherwise have chosen to stand on. The conspicuous exception is not Henry Jackson but Edward Kennedy, who, in the substance of foreign policy, has almost entirely repudiated his brother John.

It is, in fact, the substance of John Kennedy's policy that is explored by Richard Walton, a former Voice of America correspondent who resigned to write a book about Adlai Stevenson, and Louise FitzSimons, who is described by her publisher as having been a foreign affairs officer for the Atomic Energy Commission and a staff aide in the Senate—she now lives in Connecticut.

They both maintain that Kennedy was the consummate cold warrior, a President who believed that Russia was a deadly unprincipled and powerful foe, that any political contest with any Communist was a fateful test of will, and that every revolution everywhere had to be treated as a challenge to "freedom" and American power.

Thus did Kennedy choose confrontation over the negotiation Khrushchev offered him over Berlin. Thus did he sponsor an abortive invasion of Cuba. Thus did he undertake a huge new armaments program well before

the 1961 Berlin crisis, without attempting to engage the Russians in arms-control talks. Thus did he again ignore an offer of negotiation, by Cuban President Dorticos on Oct. 8, 1962, and instead bring on nuclear confrontation, which was finally

settled on exactly the Dorticos terms, and his admirers, ignoring the origin of the crisis, continue to hail his management of it. Thus did he accept Vietnam as a necessary and valid place in which to contest Communist and demonstrate American resolve. In his time the American complement there rose from 600 men to 25,000. On Sept. 2, 1963, he said, "I don't agree with those who say we should withdraw"; on Sept. 9, he said, about the domino theory, "I believe it."

What about the nuclear test-ban treaty? By quieting public outrage over fallout, it reduced pressure for a comprehensive ban; meanwhile, those wary of arms control exacted a Presidential commitment to a gigantic underground testing program: the largest and most costly weapons have been developed since 1963. What about Kennedy's American University appeal in June, 1963, to reexamine cold-war attitudes? It was followed a few weeks later by one of his fiercest cold-war affirmations: "I am a Berliner." What about his claim to have brought the military under civilian control? The Pentagon's old inefficiencies and interservice rivalries served better as controls than did the McNamara machine.

Now, Walton goes too far. He seems so determined to destroy the Kennedy "legend" that he tends to oversimplify, stating flatly, for instance, that the reason Khrushchev sneaked missiles into Cuba was to defend Castro from a Kennedy still unreconstructed after the Bay of Pigs. (Miss FitzSimons sensibly surveys a range of possible reasons, including the strategic balance.) Walton finds Kennedy afflicted not only with congenital anti-Communism but with a machismo complex—an interesting notion but not enough in itself to make a valid argument. Walton puts on it. He denies Kennedy the benefit of the

doubt, asserting that Vietnam was "his most enduring legacy."

Miss FitzSimons' makes her case less relentlessly, though without as much tang. She marshals many of the same now-unbelievable Kennedy quotes, such as his overwrought inaugural pledge—this at a moment of tremendous American strategic superiority and minimal Soviet challenge—to defend "freedom in its hour of maximum danger." Her sense of empathy seems to me good: noting that American satellites and spies had located Soviet missiles and that McNamara was moving towards a counter-missile strategy, she speculates on the resultant "near panic in Soviet military circles." Walton leans on the Kennedy memoirists. Miss FitzSimons draws on Kennedy Oral History Collection interviews—including Robert Amory's revelation that the Kennedy fancy for counter-insurgency led to clerks being trained to wire typewriters to explode, and bakers to make apple pies with grenades!

But if Walton tends to be single-minded and Miss FitzSimons pedestrian, they are both, in my view, essentially correct in their views of Kennedy as by and large a cold warrior and counter-revolutionary. One can call his brinkmanship courage, and make intelligent excuses for him, and stress his nerves and charm, as his aides in their books do. One can even believe that, had he lived, he would have mastered his central ambivalence: the tension between insisting on fighting the cold war, and looking for a truce in it. But one cannot deny, after reading these two imperfect but right-minded surveys of his actual conduct of the office, with consequences that are with us still.

Would the Russians have embarked on their great strategic and naval programs of the 1960s if a President more respectful of their imperatives, and his own, had been in power? The suggestion of Miss FitzSimons and Walton is no. Others, accepting the fundamentalist Kennedy vision of Soviet aggressiveness, event, Mr. Nixon has had to deal with the consequences.

STATINTL

9 MAR 1972

# PRESIDENT ORDERS LIMIT ON LABELING OF DATA AS SECRET

## Calls for Faster Release of Material Not Injurious to the Nation's Security

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8—President Nixon signed today an Executive order to limit the secrecy surrounding Federal documents, a major source of information about the Government.

The President said in a statement that his action was "designed to lift the veil of secrecy which now enshrouds altogether too many papers written by employees of the Federal establishment—and to do so without jeopardizing any of our legitimate defense or foreign policy interests."

The Executive order, which will become effective June 1, calls for reducing the number of documents classified "top secret," "secret" or "confidential" when they are written and for limiting the authority of officials to stamp such classifications on those papers.

### Rely on Discretion

At the other end of the process, the order calls for speeding up the process of declassifying these documents, making them available to the public, with certain exceptions that the Administration pledged would be narrowly applied.

The President and Administration spokesmen who explained the new order readily conceded, however, that the success of the program would depend largely on the discretion of officials. Mr. Nixon said, "Rules can never be airtight and we must rely upon the good judgment of individuals throughout the Government."

The action is a result of a 14-month study ordered by the President and spurred by the publication last summer of the secret Pentagon study of the Vietnam war. Had the new or-

der been in effect, then, large portions of the documents in the Pentagon papers would already have been declassified.

### 10-Year Limit Set

Under the new order, "top secret" papers can become public after 10 years. Thus, documents in the Pentagon papers that were written before 1961 would have been automatically declassified or would have been subject to a challenge in which the Government would have had to prove that injury to the national security would have resulted from their publication.

Similarly, many "secret" papers dated before 1963 and "confidential" documents dated earlier than 1965 would have been available. The Pentagon papers included documents from 1945 to 1963.

The new order means that large numbers of papers from the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations should become available, plus those of the early Kennedy years. Documents concerning the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961, for instance, will be eligible for public inspection unless the Government can prove that such disclosure will harm the national interest.

Later this year, under the order, documents pertaining to the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 will become eligible for inspection unless the Government can prove that the national interest will be harmed.

The order drew some immediate fire on Capitol Hill. Representative William S. Moorhead, Democrat of Pennsylvania, who is chairman of a House subcommittee on Government information, said, "Congress may want to write its own statutory law on this important and sensitive matter."

Along the same line, a House Armed Services subcommittee began hearings this morning on a bill proposed by Representatives F. Edward Hébert, Democrat of Louisiana, and Leslie C. Arends, Republican of Illinois, the committee chairman and senior minority member respectively.

While the Nixon Administration plans to keep control of the classification of documents in the hands of the Executive branch, the Hébert-Arends bill would establish a joint executive-legislative commission to undertake continuing reviews of secrecy in the Government.

The general counsel to the Department of Defense, J. Fred Buzhardt, testified this morning before the House Armed Services subcommittee, which is headed by Representative Lucien N. Nedzi, Democrat of Michigan, in opposition to the Hébert-Arends bill.

Mr. Buzhardt said that, in an effort to stop unauthorized disclosures of secret information, Pentagon researchers had begun looking for a type of paper that could not be Xeroxed or otherwise duplicated. The Pentagon papers given to The New York Times and other newspapers were reportedly Xeroxed copies of the original documents—in some cases, Xeroxes of Xeroxes.

In issuing his order today, Mr. Nixon said, "We have reversed the burden of proof: For the first time, we are placing that burden—and even the threat of administrative sanction—upon those who wish to preserve the secrecy of documents rather than upon those who wish to declassify them after a reasonable time."

Under the new order, papers can be classified only if their disclosure "could reasonably be

expected" to cause damage to the national interest. Previously a paper could be stamped "secret" even if the threat of damage to the national security was remote.

The new order further reduces the number of Federal agencies, outside the White House, that can classify documents. At present, 38 agencies can classify papers "top secret" or place them under the lesser classifications.

### Must Identify Officials

After June 1, however, only 12 agencies, such as the State Department, the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, can use the "top secret" stamp and 13 more will be able to use the "secret" stamp.

In the agencies that will be able to use the "top secret" label, only 1,860 officials will be authorized to assign such a classification, against 5,100 at present.

Moreover, the President said, each agency will be required to identify those officials doing the classifying. "Each official is to be held personally responsible for the propriety of the classification attributed to him," the President said.

"Repeated abuse of the process through excessive classification," the President continued, "shall be grounds for administrative action." That would be an administrative reprimand, which can be damaging to a career.

The President also ordered that, wherever possible, classified information be separated

### Exceptions to Rule

The Executive order further states: "In no case shall information be classified in order to conceal inefficiency or administrative error, to prevent embarrassment to a person or a department, to restrain competition or independent initiative, or to prevent for any other reason the release of information which does not require protection in the interest of national security."

The President ordered that the "top secret" label be used "with utmost restraint" and that the "secret" label be employed "sparingly."

As to declassification, the President ordered that "top secret" documents be made available after 10 years, "secret" papers after eight years and "confidential" items after six years.

But there will be exceptions, including the following:

Information furnished in confidence by a foreign government or international organization on, the understanding that it be kept in confidence.

Information covered by law, such as atomic energy information, or documents pertaining to codes and intelligence operations.

Information on a matter "the continuing protection of which is essential to the national security." That broad statement would appear to give advocates of secrecy considerable leeway.

Information that, if disclosed, "would place a person in immediate jeopardy." That pertains to intelligence agents.

### May Ask for Document

But anyone may, after a document is 10 years old, ask for a review of the reasons why it is still kept secret. He must specify the document he wishes to see, which means that he must know that it exists. Moreover, the agency holding the paper must be able to find it "with a reasonable amount of effort."

That part of the order also applies to documents written before the order becomes effective. The President said that the National Archives had "160 million pages of classified documents from World War II and over 300 million pages of classified documents for the years 1946 through 1954."

Only a small number of those postwar documents have been made available. The vast majority are not now subject to any sort of automatic declassification as provided under the President's order. Subject to declassification only after 12 years, as opposed to the top limit of 10 years under the new

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The commander of the North American Air Defense Command has told the Hebert committee that even the radar screen protecting the north, east and west approaches to North America is vulnerable to a low-level bomber attack. Our radar coverage is ineffective below 2,000 feet. With Canada hinting that it might pull out of its NORAD commitment, we might well question whether it is only our "southern exposure" that needs attention.

The Russians maintain a fleet of 900 long-range bombers and are investing heavily in their new "Backfire" supersonic bomber. This swing-wing plane is said to be capable of flying at the speed of sound at an altitude of 500 feet, carrying parachute-dropped hydrogen bombs. It could fly from Soviet bases to the United States and back without refueling and may be operational by next year.

While some of our strategists may believe that bombers are obsolete, the Russians obviously do not.

**DECISION FOR DISASTER: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BAY OF PIGS**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**  
OF LOUISIANA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, February 9, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, turning points in history are not always recognized at the time of their occurrence. Their significance is determined not by the extent of the movement or the size of the forces involved but by the magnitude of their consequences.

Once such turning point in recent U.S. history was the attempted liberation of Cuba by Cuban patriots in April 1961 that ended in the tragic defeat of the liberators at the Bay of Pigs.

What are some of the major consequences? It prevented the removal of the first overt Soviet beachhead in the Americas, enabled the capture by the Castro Communist Cuban Government of future leadership of a free Cuba, facilitated the construction of Soviet missile and submarine bases close to the United States, contributed toward killing the Monroe Doctrine, and served as a prelude to the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, all at a time when the United States had a superiority in modern weaponry over its strongest potential enemy.

Moreover, the takeover of Cuba places Soviet power on the northern flank of the Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal and was the first specific step in the long-range Red plan for wresting control of the canal from the United States and thus separating the Americas. Recent actions of the pro-Communist revolutionary government of Panama increase the danger of our losing the canal.

So inept and always against the interests of our country have been some of the moves of our Government in regard to the Panama Canal that it has made some discerning observers wonder if there has been an agreement between suspect elements in the State Department and Soviet power to surrender U.S. control of the vital waterway.

Writings about the Bay of Pigs disaster at the time and subsequently have been voluminous. Unfortunately, most of them

were aimed at defending those responsible, were conjectural or inaccurate, thus adding to the confusion and causing knowledgeable persons to ask embarrassing questions. President Kennedy's public acceptance of full responsibility for the fiasco was not an adequate explanation but a ploy apparently designed to stop public discussion.

It remained for an able and distinguished Cuban, Dr. Mario Lazo, who narrowly escaped execution following the Bay of Pigs catastrophe but was able to reach the United States, to make it his purpose in life to find out why the carefully planned liberation attempt failed.

Devoting 7 years to the task, he applied the investigative skills of a gifted and respected lawyer and produced an authoritative book that should be studied by every concerned policymaker of our Government, especially those in higher echelons charged with the responsibility of decision.

Appropriately named "Dagger in the Heart: American Policy Failures in Cuba," this volume, published in 1968 by Funk & Wagnalls of New York, is must reading for all who seek the truth concerning the Bay of Pigs tragedy and who should be held accountable. In addition, it gives a comprehensive account of the subsequent missile crisis of 1962 thus uncovering the masks that have obscured both the 1961 and 1962 failures.

Mr. Speaker, the United States seems verging toward another period of cataclysmic historical involvement. I know of no better way to judge the future except by the past. The Reader's Digest in a special feature in September 1964 by Dr. Lazo published his condensation of the story of the Bay of Pigs defeat under the telling title, "Decision for Disaster," which I quote as part of my remarks along with a biographical sketch of its author.

[From the Reader's Digest, September 1964]  
**DECISION FOR DISASTER: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BAY OF PIGS**  
(By Mario Lazo)  
**ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

On the morning of April 17, 1961, Dr. Mario Lazo, one of Cuba's most distinguished international lawyers, waited at his beach house in Varadero, 80 miles east of Havana. He was aware that the invasion of Castro's Cuba had begun. He was aware, too, that he had not much time left as a free man.

There were many reasons why Fidel Castro wanted Mario Lazo. Dr. Lazo had, in effect, enjoyed dual citizenship: a Cuban since birth, he had been, for a while, a U.S. citizen by naturalization. He was educated in the United States, with a law degree from Cornell. During World War I, he served with the American Expeditionary Forces as a captain of infantry in France. Then, for 35 years, in partnership with Dr. Jorge E. deCubas, he headed one of the outstanding law firms in Latin America, representing many foreign corporations as well as the U.S. government and an impressive Cuban clientele. Finally, like many other patriotic Cubans, he had collaborated with the anti-Castro underground. His arrest was inevitable.

Several weeks later, Dr. Lazo managed to escape from the island. Arrived in the United States, he made a vow: "Even if it takes the rest of my life, I will find out why the invasion of Cuba failed."

The account that follows is the result of three solid years of investigation by Dr. Lazo.

To talk with Cuban survivors of the abortive expedition, he went first to Spain, then around the Caribbean, finally back to the United States. When he had learned the key facts from these men, he tackled the more difficult job of reaching into high places in Washington. Here Dr. Lazo's international connections as a lawyer served him well. He was able to speak in confidence with those who knew, at firsthand, what happened in Washington during those critical April days in 1961.

**Operation Pluto as planned originally**  
**Air Strike 1**

Scheduled for Saturday a.m., April 15. Objective: Free Cuban Air Squadron (16 B-26's) to attack airfields and destroy all or most of Castro's aircraft on the ground.

**Air Strike 2**

Scheduled for Sunday a.m., April 16. Objective: Destroy any remaining aircraft; bomb anti-aircraft and other military installations.

**Air Strike 3**

Scheduled for Monday a.m., April 17. Objective: Provide final assurance that every Castro plane has been destroyed. Hit tank, mobile-gun and truck concentrations and sink warship anchored near Cienfuegos. Return to base, refuel and fly support missions over beachhead.

First landing party to make the Giron airstrip operative as base for Free Cuban planes. Their missions: to block roads leading from Havana to beachhead; knock out Havana power plant, oil refineries; strike at Castro's troops, tanks, trucks, tractor-drawn artillery concentrated around Havana.

**Why Operation Pluto Failed**

Strike 1 was scaled down to eight planes—by White House order.

Strike 2 was canceled entirely—by White House order.

Strike 3 was canceled—by White House order—only a few hours before Bay of Pigs landing.

The Giron airstrip was captured but never occupied as an operating base. The Free Cuban planes that reached the invasion area, like the men ashore, were at the mercy of Castro's remaining jets, which, according to the plan, should have been destroyed by the three air strikes.

**DECISION FOR DISASTER**

Almost 3½ years have passed since the tragedy of the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 shocked the American people and damaged U.S. prestige and leadership throughout the free world. Yet the circumstances behind the fiasco are still cloaked in official secrecy. Recent attempts to get the facts have resulted in stories which have only added to the confusion. People everywhere are still puzzled and unsatisfied, because these basic questions remain unanswered:

Why were 1500 men sent to "invade" an island defended by more than 200,000 troops and militia bearing modern Soviet-bloc arms and equipment?

Why was the landing left vulnerable to Castro's small but nonetheless jet-equipped air force, which decimated the attacking planes and sank ships loaded with arms, munitions, fuel, food, electronic equipment and other essentials?

What role was assigned to the Free Cuban Air Squadron of obsolete U.S. planes flown by Cuban pilots, which all together were no match for Castro's T-33 jets?

What happened to the air strikes that were supposed to have been made by the Free Cuban Air Squadron to destroy Castro's air force prior to the landings?

Why were the isolated beaches of the Bay of Pigs, which allowed no means of escape if the invasion failed, chosen as the landing site?

Was the seemingly risky invasion plan re-

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EXPRESS  
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S - 120,347

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## Why Nixon Can't Limit Debate on War Policies

It won't make much difference until the Democrats find who really is the national party leader this year, but it is inevitable that presidential candidates will attack the Nixon Administration with any argument they think will help his campaign.

That's basic to the political process and any gag on it, no matter how it is presented, is unacceptable in a democratic society.

Mr. Nixon, making some amends for his chief White House aide's characterization of Senator Muskie as a traitor, said this week that "only the President can negotiate an end to the war." He recalled his own campaign of 1968 and said that presidential candidates "have a higher responsibility than the ordinary critic."

Of course, students of political campaigns can go back to General Eisenhower's first one, when he made negotiation—by a candidate—of an end to the Korean war his prime campaign topic. "I will go to Korea," he said, all across the continent.

In 1960, Mr. Nixon claimed to be handicapped by his inside in-

formation on Cuba that he was barred, by his sense of higher responsibility, from using. Had he used it—to say the CIA was mounting an assault upon the island that later led to the Bay of Pigs fiasco—a tragic chapter in American history could have been changed.

The basic point is, of course, that the President's policies are under attack by Democratic leaders who want to defeat the Republicans in November. If a Democrat were in the White House, the situation would be reversed. Mr. Nixon is challenged to defend his policies, not to foreclose debate on them.

If the President has sensitive information that he believes would make his plea for "higher responsibility" more credible to his opponents, he ought to arrange to have the candidates briefed so that they may understand his position.

At the height of American attacks upon the north Vietnamese, when General Westmoreland asked for more troops to finish the job, the Joint Chiefs of Staff told Defense Secretary Clark Clifford that they could find no diminished willingness to continue the war. Yet, while the American forces are withdrawing at a rapid pace, the Presidents cautions critics to make sure their statements do not "give the enemy an incentive for continuing the war."

The war is an issue. It will be debated vigorously. Some Democrat may even say, "I will go to Vietnam."

STATINTL

# COLORADO TO KOKO NOR

**The amazing true story  
of the CIA's secret war  
against Red China**

• The author, L. Fletcher Prouty, is a retired Air Force colonel who is now with the Center of Political Research in Washington, D.C.

STATINTL

By L. FLETCHER PROUTY

**N**IGHT HAD obscured the mountains when the Air Force cargo plane finally approached the Pikes Peak country from the west. Wearily, it seemed, the aircraft crossed the south shoulder of the peak, turned left, dropped flaps and began the long, gradual descent to Peterson Field which serves both as an Air Force base and the municipal airport of Colorado Springs.

The landing was uneventful. But from that point some strange things happened.

The aircraft, a heavy-bodied C130 powered by four turbo-prop engines, taxied to a remote end of the field rather than to the regular ramp. A military bus quickly pulled up alongside.

If any outsider had been there to witness some 20 men disembark, he would have been told they were soldiers from India scheduled for training at nearby Ft. Carson under a military aid program.

But the troops weren't Indians and they never got to Ft. Carson.

The loaded bus headed westward out of Colorado Springs, up the Ute Pass highway, and disappeared into the night.

During the months that followed, other men like those in the first contingent arrived periodically in Colorado Springs in

the same mysterious manner and vanished into the mountains.

The identity of these men and the nature of their mission makes a fascinating story — and, in some respects, a frightening one — with vast international implications. Recent developments in relations between the United States and Communist China, which portend so much for an era of peace, give that story a special timeliness. The details of this operation are reported here for the first time.

To understand what this hush-hush operation was all about, it is necessary to set the time, which was August 1959, and to recall the ominous twilight zone — neither peace nor war — into which relations between East and West had drifted in that period. With an eye toward the successful culmination of his two-term administration, President Eisenhower announced a series of international events leading to a super-Summit Conference in Paris during May 1960.

The Korean War had settled into an uneasy truce six years earlier, in 1953. The Berlin Wall was still two years in the future, 1961. At the moment the point of East-West friction was at a most mythical land to most Americans

who connected it vaguely with a Ronald Coleman movie about Shangri-la.

There is nothing mythical about Tibet. It is an ancient country with an area four times that of Colorado, separated from India to the south by the Himalayan Range, many of whose peaks are twice as tall as Colorado's highest mountains. The country's average elevation is about 15,000 feet. Soon after the Communist government took over control of China in 1949, Peking announced its intentions of "liberating" Tibet. In October 1950 Chinese Communist troops invaded it.

Tibet's spiritual and temporal leader, the Dalai Lama, then only 15 years old, urged his people not to resist. The Chinese in turn left the Dalai Lama alone. But by February of 1959 it became evident the Chinese intended to seize him to gain undisputed control over that country.

Forewarned, the Dalai Lama and about 80 of his followers fled Lhasa, the capital city on March 17, 1959, heading for the safety of India. The Chinese were not aware of the Dalai Lama's departure for several days. They had been lulled by the fact that there were only two good routes out of Lhasa, both under Chinese control, and any caravan leaving for India would have had to



3 FEB 1972

# The 13 years war on Cuba

The following is a partial list of acts of aggression perpetrated against Cuba by counter-revolutionaries aided by the Central Intelligence Agency. This list is taken from an article which appeared in the Cuban newspaper *Granma*. The list covers U.S. aggression against Cuba from 1959 through 1971.

## 1959

**JANUARY 1** — Representatives of the Batista regime and other war criminals arrive in the U.S. where they are granted political asylum. The U.S. government repeatedly rejects the demand for extradition made by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

**FEBRUARY 2** — Allen Robert Mayer, a U.S. citizen, is arrested on board a light plane in which he landed illegally in Cuba with the intent of assassinating Major Fidel Castro.

**MARCH 31** — Austin F. Young, a U.S. pilot, arrested for flying former officers of Batista's army out of Cuba to Miami, is sentenced to 30 years in prison.

**OCTOBER 21** — A plane flown by Diaz Lanz from the U.S. drops bombs on Havana, killing and wounding many civilians. In Camaguey Province, a light plane bombs the Violeta Sugar Mill. A light plane bombs the Punta Alegre Sugar Mill.

**OCTOBER 25** — A light plane bombs a passenger train between Yaguajay and Caibarien.

## 1960

**JANUARY 28** — A plane drops incendiary bombs on the canefields of five sugar mills in Camaguey Province and three sugar mills in Oriente Province.

**FEBRUARY 18** — A plane which attacked the Espana Sugar Mill is destroyed by the explosion of one of its own bombs. The pilot, Robert Ellis Forst, a U.S. citizen, is killed.

**MARCH 4** — The French ship *La Coubre*, loaded with a cargo of arms for Cuba, blew up in the port of Havana as a result of sabotage by the CIA. The action resulted in the death of almost 100 people. More than 200 were wounded.

**JUNE 28** — U.S. oil refineries in Cuba refuse to refine oil acquired by Cuba. The refineries are taken over by the Revolutionary Government.

**NOVEMBER 18** — U.S. mercenaries, part of a counter-revolutionary expedition which landed in Oriente Province, are brought to trial.

## 1961

**JANUARY 7** — The Rebel Army captures a large quantity of U.S.-made arms dropped in the Escambray Mountains by U.S. planes for use in reinforcing the counter-revolutionary operations in that zone.

**MARCH 2** — President Kennedy orders the trade embargo against Cuba. At the end of March, the total suspension of the Cuban sugar quota to the U.S. market is put into effect.

**APRIL 3** — U.S. State Department publishes its first "White Book" on Cuba, a document whose purpose is to increase the hysteria against Cuba as a prelude to the landing of the mercenaries.

**APRIL 15** — U.S.-made planes, proceeding from Guatemala, bomb the airport of Ciudad Libertad, in Havana, and San Antonio de los Baños and Santiago de Cuba, taking a toll of several dead and wounded. The planes return to U.S. territory.

## 1962

**JANUARY 3** — U.S. State Department publishes its second "White Book" on Cuba.

**JANUARY 7** — Counter-revolutionaries, led by CIA agents, introduce Dupont explosives into Cuba. A shipment of arms, made in the USA, and dropped by parachute from planes in the zones of Pinar del Rio and Las Villas, are seized.

**JUNE 17** — Fisherman Rodolfo Rosell Salas is murdered at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo.

**SEPTEMBER 24** — U.S. Defense Department announces the organization of units of Cuban gusanos in U.S. Navy and Army. The counter-revolutionaries are given training in Spanish in addition to military training.

**SEPTEMBER 27** — A CIA band is captured.

**OCTOBER 23** — President Kennedy orders the blockade of Cuba and demands the dismantling of defense bases on Cuba.

**NOVEMBER 5** — U.S. pilot Major Rudolf Anderson is killed when his U2 plane is shot down.

**NOVEMBER 13** — Chief of CIA in Cuba is arrested. He confesses plans for infiltration and sabotage sponsored by the CIA in Cuba.

**DECEMBER 31** — U.S. spy planes violate Cuban air space a total of 58 times between November 22 and December 31.

## 1963

**MARCH 19** — Two of the organizations created by the CIA, Alpha 66 and the Second Front of the Escambray, take credit in Miami for the strafing and shelling of the Soviet ship *Lgov* in the port of Isabela de Sagua.

**OCTOBER 11** — In an interview with the *Miami Herald*, a front organization for the CIA admits that it receives financial and other aid from the U.S. government and

continued



# Beyond the Pentagon Papers

"The Vietnam experience shows the deliberateness with which Presidents, advisers, and bureaucracies . . . excluded disengagement as a feasible alternative."

**H**OW COULD IT HAPPEN IN Vietnam that a "small" commitment in the mid-1950s became a massive one in the mid-1960s? Several former administration "insiders" have recently stepped forward, encouraged by Daniel Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon Papers to provide answers. Beginning in the Eisenhower years, we are told by George Ball, a series of "small steps" were taken "almost absentmindedly" until the United States found itself "absorbed" into Vietnam. It was "the politics of inadvertence," Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., has written in evident agreement with

Ball. Yet the basic policies and concepts were right, says Roger Hilsman; the American failure was a failure of implementation, a case of inept execution. Quite the contrary, Leslie H. Gelb has argued in a recent *New York Review of Books* article: the decision-making system worked as its participants intended it to work, on the basis of a misguided consensus about the international and domestic political dangers of failing in Vietnam. Ellsberg, while supporting much of Gelb's analysis, has added his own dimension to the discussion, arguing that Presidential concern about future elections and the threat of a right-wing reaction to withdrawal short of victory was the first "rule" of policymaking on Vietnam.

The Pentagon Papers tell me that all of these explanations are misleading or inadequate. Choices to escalate rather than de-escalate or disengage were made deliberately, not haphazardly; policies were not merely implemented poorly, they were ill-conceived; concern over elections explains why changes in policy may have been postponed rather than why they resulted in continued or increased involvement. If the "system" as a whole worked so perversely well, it was because there was (and is) in American decision-makers and decisionmaking a disposition to respond to failure in ways that will perpetuate the "success" of America's mission abroad. The decisions that were taken on Vietnam—always to press ahead with the war, usually to expand it—reflected much more than calculations about the domestic and international repercussions. They were manifestations of deeper drives to preserve and expand personal, institutional and national power.

The most fateful decisions on Vietnam—those that enmeshed the United States ever more deeply and dramatically enlarged the perceived "stakes" in the outcome of the war—occurred during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. What motivated these two Presidents and their common cast of senior policy advisers to make these decisions?

In the first place, they shared a number of bedrock assumptions about American responsibility for maintaining the global status quo before the

challenge of communist-supported revolutions: thus the critical nature of the Vietnam experience for the United States and the "Free World," and the psycho-political importance of being firm in the face of the adversary's "provocations." One need not search between the lines for these assumptions; they emerge clearly from numerous documents and statements. The same John F. Kennedy who in June 1956 had spoken of Vietnam as "the cornerstone of the Free World in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike" also said as President seven years later: "We are not going to withdraw. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there." Those who theorize that Kennedy was on the verge of disengagement before his assassination and cite televised remarks of September 2, 1963—"In the final analysis it is their war" and "they have to win it"—ignore the essential point: Kennedy, as he demonstrated in throwing support to the anti-Diem generals, wanted this war won whatever the deficiencies of, and obstacles posed by, Saigon politics. "Strongly in our mind," he said in a less-quoted response on NBC television (September 9), "is what happened in the case of China at the end of World War II, where China was lost, a weak government became increasingly unable to control events. We don't want that." Kennedy would not "lose" South Vietnam, a determination that every South Vietnamese government then and since has learned how to exploit for accumulating aid without implementing reforms.

Well before the Tonkin Gulf incidents, it was recognized that increasing American involvement was contributing to the perceived value of South Vietnam, both for foreign and domestic policy. But this only lent greater validity to the "test case" hypothesis, according to McNamara (in a trip report to Johnson, March 16, 1964). The entire world, he wrote, regards the 'South Vietnam conflict . . . as a test case of US capacity to help a nation meet a communist 'war of liberation.'"

STATINT

STATINTL

When Britain pulled out of Rhodesia after the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the CIA worked to ferret out details of the sanction-busting. In the popular traditions of spying, secret documents disappeared were used to convey messages in invisible ink. It was a shock to one of the informers was a prominent lawyer. But it was not until the CIA had expanded into an area where the British were unactive in Egypt, Iran and Syria. E. H. COOKRIDGE ends his column and looks at the Director, Richard Helms

# DEAD LETTERS

## IN SALISBURY

**M**ANY of the bright young men Allen Dulles had recruited to CIA from law offices and universities had gained their spurs in London, where they were sent to glean some of the methods of the British Secret Intelligence Service. Dulles enjoyed making wisecracks about the Victorian and Indian Army traditions still surviving in the British secret service, but he had a healthy respect for its unrivalled experience and great professionalism. He knew that CIA could learn a lot from the British about operations in the Middle East and Africa, where its stations were rapidly expanding.

After Archibald Roosevelt, one of CIA's foremost "Arabists", had restored cordial relations with SIS when station head in London, a plan of co-operation was devised for Africa, where most of the former British colonies had gained independence, and were becoming subject to strong Soviet and Chinese pressure. Roosevelt was still in London when, in 1965, Rhodesia made her momentous "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" (UDI), which led to the conflict with the British Government.

There is no better instance of the strengthening of CIA-SIS collaboration than the hitherto undisclosed story of the services CIA rendered the British authorities in Rhodesia, particularly since about 1968.

Indeed, in assisting the British SIS in its thankless task of implementing the policy of economic sanctions against the Smith regime, CIA put its relations with the Portuguese in jeopardy. It has an enduring understanding with the Portuguese Government and its PIDE secret service on many aspects: NATO security, anti-communist operations, the use of radio stations in Portugal and her colonies, and of bases for the U-2 spy planes and Special Forces in Angola, Mozambique and Macao. However thin the

British sanction policy became, British consular offices and SIS men were supposed to watch the steady flow of Rhodesian pig-iron, tobacco, and other products through the Portuguese ports of Lorenzo Marques and Beira in East Africa to Europe and the Far East. Merchants and shippers there had made fortunes out of the traffic which the Portuguese were bound, by United Nations resolutions and agreements with Britain, to regard as illegal.

After the closure of British missions in Salisbury all information about Rhodesian exports dried up at source. At this juncture CIA stepped in to assist the British. It was not merely a labour of love. American tobacco syndicates in Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky greatly increased their production and sales to Europe when Rhodesian tobacco growers lost most of their trade through sanctions. Traditionally, Rhodesian tobacco was used for cigar and cigarette manufacture in Belgium, Holland, Germany and Switzerland. When these supplies dried up, European manufacturers turned to American growers. But by and by Rhodesian exports began to flow again, by the use of false certificates of origin and smuggling through the Portuguese ports and through Durban in South Africa, much to the displeasure of the Americans.

Thus, obliging the British and helping American business, CIA ordered its agents to ferret out the secrets of the sanction-busting schemes devised by Mr Ian Smith's regime. Soon the CIA station in Salisbury was bustling with activity. Since 1962 it had been headed by Richard La Macchia, a senior CIA official, who had joined it in 1952 from the U.S. Naval Intelligence and had come to Africa in the guise of an official of the U.S. Development Aid Agency.

Other CIA agents were Cape Town, former A. Francis Murray, who had a cloak-and-dagger background in Cuba and Congo and several of the most famous in Edward Salisbury.

From 1957 from the State Department; from 1959 he headed the East and South African section and, at the time of his new appointment, was Station Head in Pretoria. Among his various exploits he was reputed to have initiated the first contacts between the South African government and Dr Banda of Malawi.

The CIA agents were perpetually journeying between Salisbury and the Mozambique ports, and Murray was temporarily posted to Lusaka to maintain personal contact with British officials resident in Zambia. Mr Ian Smith and his cabinet colleague, Mr J. H. Howman, who looks after foreign affairs as well as security and the secret service of the Rhodesian regime, were not unaware of the unwelcome operations of the Americans. They suffered them for the sake of avoiding an open clash with Washington. Their patience, however, became frayed when it was discovered that secret documents had disappeared from the headquarters of the ruling Rhodesian National Front Party. Subsequently,

STATINTL

continued

# THE AFRICA DOS

As British influence in Africa declined, so did British secret service sending hundreds of agents to African capitals like Accra, Lagos to buttress "sensitive" states against communism and protect

E. H. Cookridge continues his exclusive series on the CIA

**T**HE adventurous operations often bordering on the bizarre which the Central Intelligence Agency pursued in many parts of the world are usually ascribed to one man: Allen Dulles. They culminated in the abortive invasion of Cuba in 1961. When Dulles departed from the directorship of CIA after the Bay of Pigs debacle, he certainly left an indelible stamp of his influence as the architect of the mighty CIA edifice and its worldwide ramifications.

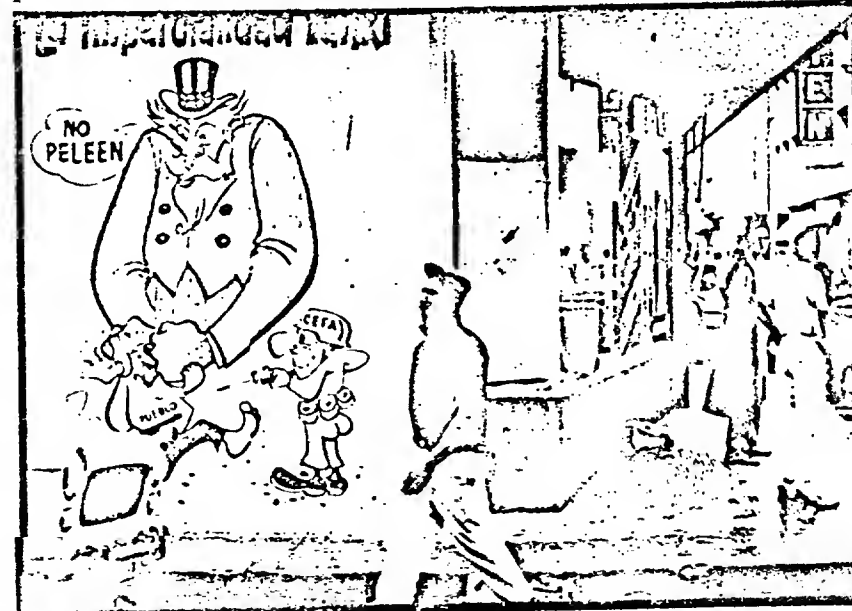
The policy of his successors has, however, been no less forceful. CIA activities under its present director, Richard McGarrah Helms, may appear less aggressive because they are being conducted with greater caution and less publicity, and because they have been adroitly adjusted to the changing climate in international politics. In the past CIA gained notoriety by promoting revolutions in Latin American banana republics, and supporting anti-communist regimes in South-East Asia. Its operations in Africa were more skilfully camouflaged. For many years they had been on a limited scale because the CIA had relied on the British secret service to provide intelligence from an area where the British had unsurpassed experience and long-established sources of information. But with the emergence of the many African independent countries, the wave of "anti-colonialist" emotions, and the growing infiltration of Africa by Soviet and Chinese "advisers", British influence declined. Washington forcefully stepped, through CIA, into the breach, with the avowed aim of containing communist expansion.

Financial investments in new industrial and mining enterprises, and lavish economic aid to the emerging governments of the "underdeveloped" countries, paved the road for the influx of hundreds of CIA agents. Some combined their intelligence assignments with genuine jobs as technical, agricultural and scientific advisers.

The British Government - particularly after the Labour Party had come to power in 1964 - withdrew most of their SIS and MI5 officials from African capitals, though some remained, at the request of the new rulers, to organise their own new intelligence and security services. CIA



A bloodless coup in Uganda in January last year and installed Major-General Idi Amin as military ruler (Amin is shown in the photograph above with a section of his troops). How far was the CIA involved in the coup? A pro-rebel poster attacks American intervention



men began hurriedly to establish their "stations" in Accra, Lagos, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, the "sensitive areas" in danger of slipping under communist sway.

By the mid-1960s several senior CIA officials, such as Thomas J. Gunning and Edward Foy, both former U.S. Army Intelligence officers, were firmly established at Accra. They were later joined by William B. Edmondson, who had already gained his spurs in East Africa, and Mrs. Stella Davis, an attractive, motherly woman, whom no one would have suspected of hav-

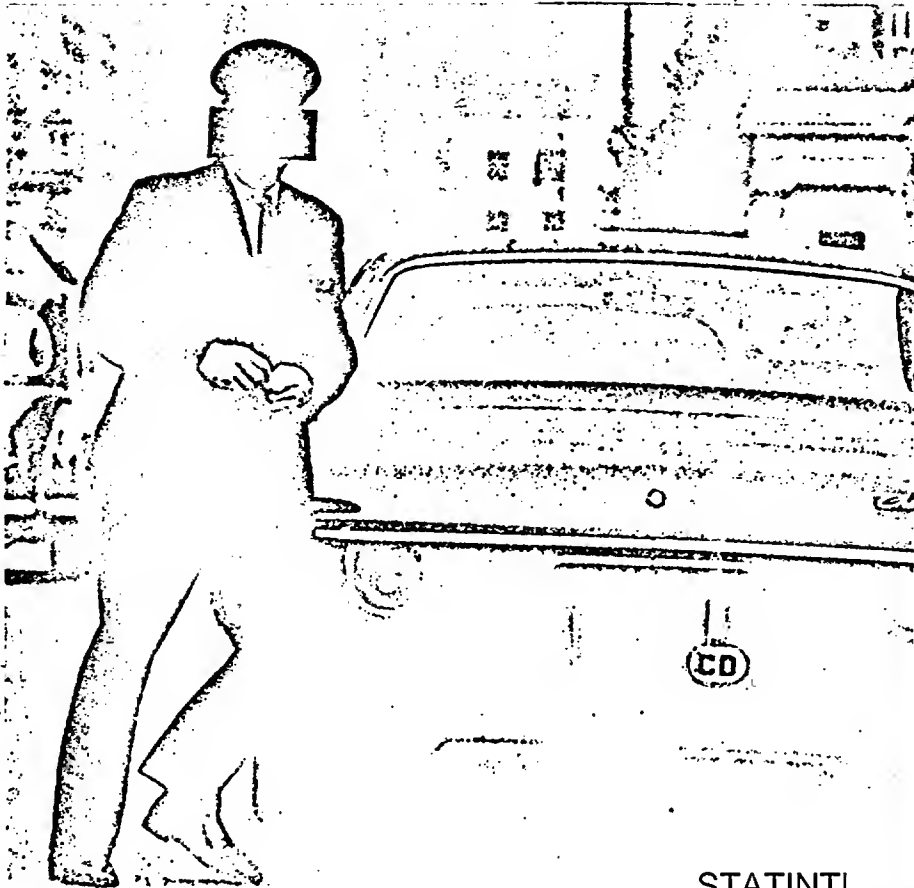
ing served for many years as a skilful FBI agent before joining CIA and being employed at Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam, acquiring fluency in Swahili. By 1965 the Accra CIA Station had two-score active operators, distributing largesse among President Nkrumah's secret adversaries.

The Americans had every intention of helping Ghana's economy by building in co-operation with a British consortium, the Volta Dam, and by providing hydro-electric power for the

STATINTL

continued

THE LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH MAGAZINE  
14 Jan 1972



STATINTL

**THE BIGGEST SECRET SERVICE IN THE WORLD**  
Starting an exclusive report on the CIA - its power

**INSIDE**



**The Biggest Secret Service in the World.**

**An analysis of the work of the Central Intelligence Agency begins on page 10.**

The compiler of this three-part report is E. H. Cookridge (left), who is the author of 16 books on espionage. Recruited into the British Secret Service on graduating from the University of Vienna in 1934, he has spent his time ever since in intelligence work, or writing about it. "I am in the position of the dumb blonde in Hollywood films. Once you are it you cannot stop. I am tired of writing about spies." But his network of contacts built up over the years is unique; and ensures that he will be

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STATINTL

**theater**

# Bay of Pigs revisited in new drama

"THE INTERROGATION OF HAVANA," a play by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, translated by Peter Mayer, based upon the public hearings held with prisoners captured during the Bay of Pigs Invasion, directed by Louis Criss, produced by the Chelsea Theater Center, Brooklyn Academy of Music, N.Y.C., N.Y.

The really creative energies of any historical moment are not necessarily divided equally among the arts.

At various times, the novel, painting, poetry, "cultivated" music, theater and the popular song become focuses which seem most aptly suited to the development of new consciousness. In the past decade in this country it is obvious that film, popular song and, to a lesser extent, poetry, have been the consistently energetic forms while the novel, painting and the theater seem to have become increasingly irrelevant as the arenas in which new ideology battles old. This is not to say that everything produced in the more "vital" forms is significant or that there have not been individual novels or plays which were an important part of the changing cultural patterns of recent years.

Clearly the American theater has come upon hard days. With the exception of "Hair," it is hard to think of an American play of recent memory which made any significant impact on general awareness and it can be reasonably argued that this was largely the result of tapping the energies unleashed by contemporary rock music. The world that Ibsen built doesn't have much substance nowadays with the commercial stage playing almost exclusively to nostalgia, outmoded consciousness and middle class anxiety—while the "non-commercial" theater becomes irretrievably more precious and elitist in its concerns.

On some other occasion it may prove interesting to explore the particular social reasons for this development—beyond the obvious factors of competition from television and film. At the moment, however, I simply want to call to your attention one of the few theatrical productions I have encountered recently which still retains some power to evoke emotions and challenge intellectual predispositions.

## "Interrogation in Havana"

The play is Hans Magnus Enzensberger's "The Interrogation of Havana," produced in unpretentious fashion by the Chelsea Theater Center at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in New York. Not surprisingly, it is one of those "theater of fact" undertakings which seem to have a better chance of being accepted by our tortured credibilities than other forms of "political" theater these days.

The play is based upon and derives completely from the interrogation of prisoners captured during the Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961. The actual circumstances of the original event were dramatic enough. Forty of the captured prisoners were publicly questioned before assembled journalists and others by a panel of revolutionaries, among them Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, one of the few old-line Cuban Communists to join Fidel in the Sierra Maestra and a leading theoretician of the revolution, Carlos Franqui, respected liberal journalist (Franqui has since become alienated from the revolution and was one of the prime movers in the exploitation of the Padilla affair), and Raul Valdes Vivo, a comandante during the rebellion and representing the revolutionary armed forces.

Enzensberger has excerpted portions of the testimony of nine of the prisoners and fashioned the whole into a work of telling impact and revealing insight. Detailed authenticity is not necessarily the most crucial of theatrical qualities, but in this case I can vouch for the general accuracy of the production since, in 1967, I witnessed an almost identical event in Havana.

## "Pathetic tools"

Several Cuban CIA agents had been captured. This particular group actually had an assassination plan directed against Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban government, plus schemes for the sabotage of sugar mills and steel factories. They were apprehended during the course of an international conference I was attending and all of us were invited to the public interrogation of the prisoners. The experience was intensely moving because it showed just how pitiful these pathetic tools of American imperialism really were while providing us with an unforgettable demonstration of revolutionary determination and human compassion which has always been a central characteristic of the Cuban revolution.

Seeing "Interrogation of Havana" brought that incident back to mind, of course, and once again I was struck by the confidence of this revolution in the ideological resources of the people. The impact of the play rests primarily in the testimony of the witnesses. Some are former land-holders and businessmen, a couple were "revolutionaries" who turned against the cause, one is a priest who went along on the invasion as a "spiritual advisor to the Catholic boys," another is one of those weasly little opportunists who are always caught up in such enterprises while still another joined the attack because of "philosophical principles." At the end, we confront a leader of the invasion, Ramon Calvino, one of the most notorious of the torturers and murderers who comprised Batista's political police.

Almost without exception, each of the prisoners emerge as a credible personage. The actors portraying the prisoners have each worked out a carefully conceived human being whose testimony seems to flow out of the character of each.

## A definition of morality

Unfortunately, the representatives of the revolutionary government do not fare as well at the hands of their portrayers—telling us, perhaps, something about the ability of American actors to understand the inner turmoils of those still struggling against socialism and their inability to fathom the characters and motivations of those for whom the revolution has become the definition of morality.

The failure is understandable. What is there, after all, in the experience of any American actor to prepare him for a revolutionary commandante? Not so surprisingly, he will see such a man as the incarnation of a certain "universal" military mentality, rigid, mindless, boorish—employing revolutionary ideology as the rhetorical mask behind which the inevitable authoritarian personality lurks.



**Joseph Kraft**

# The Anderson Papers

JACK ANDERSON achieved a journalistic coup in publishing the minutes of the secret White House meetings on the India-Pakistan crisis. But how much of a hero is the man who leaked the information?

My strong impression is that he accomplished very little public good, if any. On the contrary, his actions are almost certain to drive the Nixon administration deeper than ever into secret dealings on a restricted basis.

On the good side of the ledger, the leak has now provided unmistakable information that the President deliberately tilted American policy in favor of Pakistan and against India. But that much was known to everybody in touch with the State Department and White House at the time of the crisis.

Sens. Edmund Muskie, Edward Kennedy and Frank Church, among others, said so. Hundreds of us wrote it. Indeed, one reason Henry Kissinger held his background briefing of Dec. 7 was to take the edge off the charges the White House was biased in favor of Pakistan.

A second and more important gain from the revelation has to do with information about the way the government works. The secret minutes provide detailed, irrefutable evidence that day-to-day foreign policy is made in the White House as never before.

They equally show that top officials allowed themselves to be treated as mere lackeys by the White House. Some of them—including such supposed heavyweights as the chief of naval operations—said, and apparently regularly say, things silly enough to issue from the mouth of Bertie Wooster.

Then there is the matter of truth-telling. According to the minutes released by Anderson, Henry Kissinger's meeting of officials on Dec.

3 that "he (the President) wants to tilt in favor of Pakistan."

On Dec. 7, in a background session with reporters subsequently released by Sen. Barry Goldwater, Dr. Kissinger said: "There have been some

comments that the administration is anti-Indian. This is totally inaccurate."

Seen thus starkly, Dr. Kissinger told a flat lie. My impression is that, taken in the larger context, his remarks at the secret conference were not in such flagrant contradiction with his remarks at the background briefing. Still, he was plainly trying to manipulate public opinion.

BUT SO WHAT? Does the new evidence do more than confirm a universal judgment? After the U-2 and the Bay of Pigs and the credibility gap, is there anybody not impossibly naive or ill-informed who doesn't know that the government lies? Is one more bit of evidence a noble act? Or is it just a pebble added to the Alps?

Set against these gains, there is the way the administration is apt to react. Maybe the President and Dr. Kissinger are going to say to themselves: "Golly, we sure erred in not telling the truth and nothing but the truth. Jack Anderson has taught us that honesty is the best policy."

But much more likely, they are going to feel that the minutes of the meeting were legitimately classified internal working papers of the government. Probably they are going to feel that the stuff was leaked not for any large purpose, but out of opposition to the policy. And almost certainly—and I say this as an opponent of the policy—they will be right in this surmise.

In these circumstances, the limited trust they have in the outside world is going to be even more sharply limited. They will have, of the bureaucracy—

suspicion that the departments and agencies are full of crypto-Democrats out to get the administration—is only going to be intensified. And that deep suspicion is going to yield two sets of adverse reactions.

For one thing, security will be tightened. There is apt to be an end to the kind of minutes that were taken at Dr. Kissinger's meetings. They will certainly not be spread through the bureaucracy anymore.

Secondly, the limited access which experienced officials now have to White House decision-making is going to be even further curbed. The President and Dr. Kissinger are going to keep things to themselves more than ever. Important decisions which are even now made with too little consultation—and with too small an input from the outside—are going to be made by an even more narrowly circumscribed group of men.

No doubt Anderson gets high marks for his acumen and industry and courage as a journalist. But his source, the man who leaked the stuff, is something else. Whatever his motives, he has done this country a disservice.



5 JAN 1972



## Prevent another Bay of Pigs!

In his interview with Dan Rather on CBS-TV Sunday night President Nixon said that "Cuba is engaged in a constant program of belligerence toward the U.S."

The truth is that Cuba's "belligerence" is defense of its sovereignty against CIA-initiated military forays, of its socialist system against counter-revolution.

President Nixon has contrived a new cloak of legitimacy for these assaults by his declaration of a military alert against Cuba.

This alert, nominally directed to the U.S. Navy and Air Force, is actually a signal to the CIA and its emigre-Cuban hoodlums to try again.

Peace in the Caribbean demands that the alert be cancelled, that the White House cease planning a new Bay of Pigs invasion, and take steps toward normal diplomatic, economic, and social relations with Cuba.

JAN 1972

## THE CIA AND DECISION-MAKING

*By Chester L. Cooper*

"The most fundamental method of work . . . is to determine our working policies according to the actual conditions. When we study the causes of the mistakes we have made, we find that they all arose because we departed from the actual situation . . . and were subjective in determining our working policies."—"The Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung."

IN bucolic McLean, Virginia, screened by trees and surrounded by a high fence, squats a vast expanse of concrete and glass known familiarly as the "Pickle Factory," and more formally as "Headquarters, Central Intelligence Agency." Chiselled into the marble which is the only relieving feature of the building's sterile main entrance are the words, "The Truth Shall Make You Free." The quotation from St. John was personally chosen for the new building by Allen W. Dulles over the objection of several subordinates who felt that the Agency, then still reeling from the Bay of Pigs débâcle, should adopt a somewhat less lofty motto. (In those dark days of late 1961, some suggested that a more appropriate choice would be "Look Before You Leap.") But Dulles had a deeper sense of history than most. Although he was a casualty of the Bay of Pigs and never sat in the Director's office with its view over the Potomac, he left a permanent mark not only on the Agency which he had fashioned but on its building which he had planned.

Allen Dulles was famous among many and notorious among some for his consummate skill as an intelligence operative ("spook" in current parlance), but one of his greatest contributions in nurturing the frail arrangements he helped to create to provide intelligence support to Washington's top-level foreign-policy-makers.

Harry Truman, whose Administration gave birth to both the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency, recalls that, "Each time the National Security Council is about to consider a certain policy—let us say a policy having to do with Southeast Asia—it immediately calls upon the CIA to present an estimate of the effects such a policy is likely to have. . . .<sup>1</sup> President Truman painted a somewhat more cozy relationship between the NSC and the CIA than probably existed during, and certainly since, his Administration. None the less, it is fair to say that the intelligence community, and especially the CIA, played an important advisory role in high-level policy deliberations during the 1950s and early 1960s.

To provide the most informed intelligence judgments on the effects a contemplated policy might have on American national security interests, a group especially tailored for the task was organized in 1950 within the CIA. While this step would probably have been taken sooner or later, the communist victory

STATINTL

DAILY WORLD

31 DEC 1971

## Eyes on Chile

The increase of CIA and other U.S. imperialist intrigue in Chile puts a responsibility upon progressive and democratic-minded people in the United States, let alone anti-imperialists and Communists. A reactionary coup in Chile would have serious consequences for democratic struggles in the United States itself, both directly and indirectly.

The history of U.S. imperialism's intrigues against people's rule in Cuba should be sufficient warning.

The significance of the fact that Nixon, then Vice President, was a prime advocate of arming Cuban counterrevolutionaries and of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April, 1961, must be given its full weight by all of us. To strengthen the "Hands off" Chile movement, and to expose and combat U.S. imperialism's activities is a responsibility that rests on all of us.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

TENNESSEAN

DEC 17 1974

M - 141,842

S - 234,036

# Friends Claim Cuban Captive Ex-CIA Agent

By WENDELL RAWLS JR.

Friends of the captain of a Miami-based merchant ship strafed and seized Wednesday by the Fidel Castro regime, said last night he had been a CIA agent for seven years.

"But you print that he a dead man," Jose Quintana said of Capt. Jose Vila, apparently now under arrest in Havana.

"Castro will kill him sure."

VILA RADIOED a frantic blow-by-blow account of the attack by a Cuban gunboat against the 235-foot Johnny Express, a 1,400-ton vessel of Panamanian registry.

"I'm bleeding to death ... the decks are covered with blood," Vila said. "Help ... Help ... Help ... There's a big hole in my thigh ... is the Coast Guard coming?"

While Vila was screaming into his radio, American aircraft hovered overhead — but took no action, except to take an intelligence photo of the Johnny Express.

"IT WAS revenge by Castro," said Quintana, co-owner of Nashville's Vizcaya Restaurant who left Cuba about 10 years ago.

"Vila hate Castro like we all do.

"He work for CIA seven years and once for 19 months he infiltrate Cuba and work with people there who hate Castro, too."

Quintana's partner, Luis Roca, said Vila is "like a brother to me. I know him 25 or 30 years. When I was a merchant marine captain in Cuba he was my first mate."

"I DON'T know if Vila with CIA," Roca said. "I don't know nothing about that. What difference it make what he

did before? The important thing is that he get out of Cuba alive. Castro hate him, he hate Castro. Castro get revenge."

Both men contend that the attack was the result of a "spy" report from someone working in the Castro regime in Miami or the Virgin Islands.

"Some spy tell Castro there is a Cuban captain and Castro got revenge," Quintana said. "But what does the United States do? Nothing. The Eagle has lost its guts. All South America is laughing at America now but America worry about prestige. Pooh."

ROCA SAID he talked with Vila's wife, Isabel, shortly after she and her three children met for 10 minutes with President Nixon who is vacationing in Key Biscayne.

"She said Nixon tell her he will do all that can be done to get Vila out of Cuba alive," Roca said.

Presidential press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said after the brief meeting:

"This act by Cuba is deplorable. The fact that a Panamanian vessel was seized in this way is an unconscionable act ... that cannot be tolerated by the international community."

THE CASTRO regime, in a broadcast over Havana radio, openly admitted the high-seas attack 120 miles from its borders, and said:

"Cuba will not hesitate to act at any distance from our coast where these pirate ships are operating under whatever flag or camouflage they are carrying out their crimes against our nation.

"One of our Cuban naval units that stands guard

against pirate ships that have harassed our territory at the service of the CIA, captured the ship Johnny Express when it refused to obey an order to heave-to for boarding."

ZIEGLER SAID the demand for Vila's release would be routed through the Swiss embassy, which handles U.S. affairs on the Communist island.

Asked what could be done if Castro chooses to ignore the request, Ziegler replied: "We expect to receive a positive response from the Cuban government."

In addition to Vila, the ship had a crew of 13 — nine Dominicans, two Haitians and two Spaniards.

The Cuban exile Babun brothers, owners of the ill-fated Johnny Express and a smaller sister ship, the Layla Express, which was seized by Cuban torpedo boats 11 days ago, claimed the attack was a personal vendetta against them by Castro.

TEOFILO BABUN denied the Cuban radio charges of CIA connections, then denounced the U.S. Coast Guard for refusing to intervene in the Wednesday afternoon attack.

"We advised the Coast Guard, but nothing was done," Babun said. "They could have been there in minutes."

The Babun family has made no secret of its anti-Castro sentiments since fleeing the island and leaving behind a vast and diversified financial empire. In 1961, the Babuns were openly outfitting a 173-foot gunboat in the port of Miami before U.S. officials intervened and ordered the ship's armament stripped.

AT LEAST two members of the Babun family are veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion and operations

rested two Babuns and seized a large quantity of explosives from their shipyard here.

"The question is not the Babun family," Teofilo Babun said. "We are only administrators. The question is to rescue the wounded. The ship was a merchant, commercial ship. It was unarmed."



Capt. Jose Vila  
Frantic account

MIAMI HERALD  
10 DEC. 1971

# Havana Seems Brighter But Her People Are Somber

A Canadian couple, back from the latest of several trips to Cuba, have written this report for The Associated Press.

By JAMES REED

And BEVERLY REED

MEXICO CITY — Miles of solitary beaches bordering blue-green Caribbean waters, \$7-double rooms in the best hotel in town and \$6 steak dinners served by smiling, efficient waiters.

All this only 90 miles from the United States.

Where? In Cuba, where tourism is still very much an adventure and where, in apparent obeisance to their revolutionary ideals, the Cubans do not exploit the tourist.

But Cuba is not easy to get to. Cuba and the United States broke diplomatic relations 10 years ago. American citizens have difficulty obtaining a visa to enter Cuba.

As Canadians, we have no problem because our country has always maintained diplomatic relations with the Cuban government. The air trip can be made from Mexico City, Madrid or Prague. Going through Mexico means being photographed by the Mexican secret police, who pass on copies to the FBI in Washington.

ONCE IN Havana, tourists must change all their currency into Cuban pesos — one dollar to one peso. Many go to the Deauville, the only hotel geared to handle tourists in the style to which North Americans and Europeans are accustomed.

Service is excellent. The staff is courteous and friendly, a rare occurrence in Caribbean hotels.

Havana's lights seem brighter than they were a year ago. But the people are still somber and the capital gives visitors a feeling they are in the midst of a kind of siege. Few neon signs from the old days are functioning.

Streets are almost barren of traffic. The government frowns on gambling, card playing, drunkenness and prostitution.

There's little crime or air pollution.

Once settled, tourists are on their own. Cubans are hospitable but their government neither promotes nor encourages tourism.

Considering the anxiety which the government suffers over matters of security and defense — memories of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 are still fresh — the average tourist is free to travel without a guide. He can take as many photographs as he wants, excluding military areas.

The problem is that military zones may not be marked, either for reasons of security or because the government hasn't gotten around to it.

A recent Canadian visitor, interested in caves, unwittingly blundered into a military zone near the town of Matanzas to snap some cave pictures. Minutes later he was in an army jeep on the way to an extensive but polite interrogation. After providing authorities with what he felt was his entire life story, he was divested of all his film. His hotel room was searched.

FINALLY, the Interior Ministry apologized for the interrogation and the film; it was color but was mistakenly developed as black and white.

The visitor treated the incident as an adventure. For the average tourist, this sort of thing won't happen if he stays more or less on the beaten track.

Havana's colonial section is a reminder of Spanish days set in the midst of revolutionary posters and billboards calling for more inter-

est in sports, ballet or the thoughts of Ernesto (Che) Guevara.

We had heard a lot about Varadero Beach, a resort town 2½ hours away, and decided to go there for the day. The tourist bureau at the Hotel Havana Libre, formerly the Havana Hilton, said there were no trips that week to Varadero Beach. But we were most welcome to visit Lenin Park along with a tourist group from the Soviet Union.

WE INSISTED on Varadero. Finally the girl clerk directed us to Havana's main bus terminal where we boarded a comfortable new Japanese bus with air conditioning and piped-in music.

Varadero, like Havana, is badly in need of repairs and renovations. But it still has a beautiful beach and luxurious hotels.

We wandered along the seashore until we came to a quaint place called the Hotel Kawama, where we paused for a Cuba libre cocktail — they've developed a substitute for the American cola supposed to go into these.

The hotel dining room had a pleasant, unhurried atmosphere but, as in other Cuban restaurants, the menu was limited. We had our choice of a whitefish, lobster, shrimp and a meat dish.

While we were sipping wine, our waiter disclosed that we could pick our favorite songs from a list of 100.

So we had lunch hearing "Fascination" and "Three Little Words," played by a piano player.

## HONDURAS:

## Easy Giveaway

Three guano-steeped, lizard-infested specks in the western Caribbean, the Swan Islands (population: 12) cannot even be found on most maps. Nearly a hundred miles off the Honduran coast, the islets served as a lair for pirates in the seventeenth century and as a CIA monitoring station in the 1960s.\* But once the CIA dismantled its operation there a few years ago, the U.S.—which first laid claim to the islands in Lincoln's day—had little use for its minuscule possessions. And so, last week, hoping to earn some goodwill in Latin America, the U.S. ceded the Swans to Honduras, which has long claimed title to them.

To at least one American, Sumner Smith of Lincoln, Mass., the treaty of cession (which must be ratified by the U.S. Senate) came as a bitter blow. For the 82-year-old Smith, who owned a commercial enterprise on the islands, claims they belong to him. "I guess the U.S. is trying to impress Latin America," his son Sumner Smith Jr., said last week. "And it is an easy thing to give away."

\*Among other things, the CIA-run Radio Swan broadcast coded messages to the invading Cuban exiles during the Bay of Pigs episode.



## HONDURAS

## Swans, Spooks and Boobies

Henry Kissinger excepted, White House aides do not normally rate elaborate receptions abroad. But when Presidential Counsellor Robert H. Finch reached Honduras last week on the fifth leg of a six-nation Latin American tour, he was received royally.

Because of Hurricane Laura, Finch's plane was diverted from Tegucigalpa, the capital, to San Pedro Sula. No matter. Honduran President Ramón Ernesto Cruz, accompanied by his entire Cabinet and several cases of vintage champagne, hurried to Honduras' second city to meet Finch there. During a two-hour layover, the reason for all the hospitality became clear. Finch and Cruz signed an agreement under which Washington will cede to Honduras two Caribbean islands that have been U.S. possessions for more than a century.

Great Swan and Little Swan, 97 miles off the Honduran coast, together cover scarcely three square miles. Little Swan is uninhabited; the larger island is used principally as an air-navigation and weather-reporting station. Its population consists of a U.S. Federal Aviation Agency technician, four weathermen and 16 civilians, most of them related in a four-generation link to the island's thrice-married elder, Captain Donald Glidden, 79, a Cayman Islander who settled on Swan in 1927. There are also innumerable booby birds, notable for their droppings, which for centuries have been used as fertilizer.

After Columbus. The Swans may have been visited in 1502 by Columbus, who was making his fourth voyage in search of that elusive passage to the East Indies. Later expeditions established Spain's claim to them. Because there is no water on the islands, they were usually bypassed. In 1856, however, the U.S. passed the Guano Islands Act, which enabled it to pre-empt any unclaimed islands on which bird droppings or guano abounded. Under that proviso, Washington claimed Great and Little Swan in 1863.

Great Swan became a weather station in 1914, but it was 1960 before the real Swan song began. A New York company called Gibraltar Steamship Corp., which owned no steamships, set up shop on the island with a 50,000-watt transmitter. Gibraltar, of course, was a CIA cover, and Radio Swan was soon booming propaganda to Fidel Castro's Cuba, 350 miles away. It called Castro and his lieutenants "pigs with beards" and accused Brother Raúl Castro of

being "a queer with effeminate friends." In reply, Havana Radio called Swan "a cage of hysterical parrots."

Look to the Rainbow. Before the Bay of Pigs assault began in 1961, Radio Swan beamed coded messages like "Look well at the rainbow. The fish will rise very soon. Chico is in the house. Visit him." After the attack failed, Swan was gradually phased out of the spook business and used instead for weather reports and sending navigation signals. The U.S. eventually decided that the islands could be safely given away. For Honduras, which has claimed them since 1923, Swan has long been a symbol of Yankee imperialism. In 1961 a boatload of students sailed out to plant the Honduran flag on Great Swan. Invited ashore, they flew their flag, stayed for sandwiches and beer, and then sailed home.

The U.S. Senate is expected to ratify last week's agreement by next spring. After that Honduras will leave things as they are on Swan. The U.S. technicians will remain, as will Glidden and his family. But another potential—though minor—international flash point has been damped down. Raising his glass in a toast last week, President Cruz remarked that Washington had been wise to give up the Swans. If it had not, he hinted with a straight face, Honduras would have had to resort to force.

# The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy: A Model for Explanation

Vincent J. Salandria, Attorney  
Philadelphia, Pa.

STATINTL

*"While the researchers have preoccupied themselves with how the assassination was accomplished, there has been almost no systematic thinking on why President Kennedy was killed."*

*(Based on an address at the conference of the New England Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Cambridge, Mass., Oct. 23, 1971.)*

For almost eight years the American people have failed to address themselves to the crucial issue of why President John F. Kennedy was killed. Much valuable time has been lost; it is becoming increasingly clear that our delay has cost mankind dearly. I urge that no one drop this question, for to do so is to abandon the serious search for peace internationally and for domestic tranquility.

## Not "How?" but "Why?"

Since November 22, 1963, when President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, there has been a great deal of research into the micro-analytic aspects of the assassination. I have been among the earliest and guiltiest of the researchers in my protracted analyses of the shots, trajectories and wounds of the assassination. The ransacking of the facts of the assassination is not a source of pride for me but rather of guilt. While the researchers have involved themselves in consuming preoccupation with the micro-analytic searching for facts of how the assassination was accomplished, there has been almost no systematic thinking on why President Kennedy was killed. We have neglected this essential work of constructing a model of explanation which fits the data of the assassination and explains the why of it.

## Government Evidence Cries Conspiracy

One who takes the trouble to study the micro-analytic material provided by the federal government must immediately conclude that there was a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy. How foolish it was of us to dwell so long on these governmentally supplied pacifiers, rather than to put them aside and undertake the serious work of constructing a model of explanation. In this connection it is important to take note that the very organization which made that mass of detailed microanalytic evidence available to us — the federal government — contended from the first that there was no conspiracy. But, the federal government's intelligence agencies must have known that the material which the government issued would indicate a conspiracy existed. Then why did we get the evidence?

This question presents a serious theoretical problem. Why would the federal government on the

one hand wish to provide us with data which prove a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy and simultaneously contend on the other hand that there was no conspiracy?

So overwhelming and voluminous is the evidence of conspiracy provided for us by the government that we are compelled to conclude that if not the, at least a number of possible plots, were meant by the conspirators to be quasi-visible. The federal government has deluged us with evidence that cries out conspiracy.

## New Rulers Timed Diffusion of Evidence

Another theoretical problem confronts us. If the killers were positioned in the highest echelons of the federal governmental apparatus, and by the assassination they had finally usurped the pinnacle of governmental power, then why did they not conceal the conspiracy? For, if they had accomplished a coup, they could have exercised their control by concealing evidence of conspiracy. But this coup was covert. The people would not have tolerated an overt coup against such a beloved man as President John F. Kennedy. Because of the covertness of the coup, I propose the explanatory thesis that the new governmental rulers were eager to reveal their work at differing levels of certainty to diverse people and at different times. In this way, they could avert a concerted counter thrust to their illegitimate seizure of power. Democratic forces could not unite against the new illegitimate governmental apparatus because of timing. The insights of what had occurred dawned in the minds of the decent citizens at different times and with different degrees of clarity. The transparent aspects of the conspiracy were permitted to flash signals to various elements of our population, much in the fashion of spot ads slanted at different times for selected audiences. The new rulers carefully and selectively orchestrated revelations of their bloody work, so as to gain therefrom the deference to which they felt they were entitled by their ascendancy to absolute power. I have long believed that the killers actually preempted the assassination criticism by supplying the information they wanted revealed and also by supplying the critics whom they wanted to disclose the data. Does it not make sense that if they could perpetrate a coup and could control the

continued

WASHINGTONIAN

DEC. 1971

# SuperClark

By Joe Goulden

I wrote Clark Clifford so that the letter would arrive by Friday, asking for an interview at his convenience the following week. "My goal is an objective study of lawyers who practice before the Federal government," I wrote, "—who and how, and what they contribute to the process." I acknowledged an awareness of the bar canons on publicity and client-lawyer confidentiality, and quoted a remark Charles Horsky of Covington & Burling once made to the effect that writing about a law practice requires walking a path "between the Scylla of tedious platitude and the Charybdis of professional inhibitions." It was a carefully written letter, one designed to get me through the doors of Washington's major law firms.

Late the following Thursday afternoon, when I had already scrubbed Clifford as an interviewee for that week and begun thinking of another approach, the phone rang.

The voice of instant warmth—resonant, with a halting deliberativeness that gave you time to digest what was said, but not enough to interrupt; a voice calculated to inform and to make you listen; a sort of early day Everett McKinley Dirksen; the voice I used to hear as a journalist in White House briefing rooms late in the Johnson Administration. "This is Clark Clifford," the voice said. "What a wonderful idea for a book, and I'm glad someone is doing it, and I'm certainly looking forward to reading it when it is published. And you certainly show an understanding of the problems a lawyer faces when he talks for publication. Now you want to come in this week, but I'm afraid this week is about over, isn't it, and I have to go down to Texas tomorrow for the dedication of President Johnson's library. Now if it isn't absolutely essential that you see me this week, I wonder if I could ask you to put off our interview until very early next week? Would I be troubling you too much to ask you to drop around late on Monday afternoon, say five o'clock or so? I can give you more time then, because it's late in the day,

and we won't be interrupted."

We made the appointment, and exchanged a few pleasantries about Johnsonian barbecues and journalism, and rang off. An hour or so later the realization swept over me, and I stopped what I was doing and thought about it. Hot damn this is *how* Clark Clifford does it. Not for him the efficient secretary intermediary—Mr. Clifford is busy this week, he could see you next week, now when shall we work you in—no, a few caresses of my ego, a veritable apology that a former President wanted the same hours as did I; and *could* I wait a day or so? And a hint that he was setting aside some very special time for me—God, I thought, I am doing Clark Clifford a favor by interviewing him.

I told this to another writer a few days later. "Jesus," he said, "Clifford sure conned you."

"No, I don't think so," I replied.

*"Clark Clifford—the secret there is that he intimidates people. He doesn't make statements, he pronounces judgments. It's a lot like talking to God—or listening to God, to be more accurate. He draws himself up and he says these things, and you have to believe him, yeah, you want to believe him, for anyone who speaks with such authority must be right. It's not law, but it's effective. I couldn't get away with it. Look at me—five feet four inches, 125 pounds—do you think I could sound Olympian?"*

—A Washington Lawyer, talking about the "why" of Clark Clifford.

Lights dim, the three-way lamps at their lowest level, drawn drapes intercepting both the glare of the late afternoon sun and the vista of the White House. Soothing, and one's eyelids droop involuntarily, not from drowsiness, but from . . . security. Refuge from whatever troubles bothered you elsewhere in Washington, on the streets or in the bureaucracy. Clark McAdam Clifford. Fingers spread and interlocked into a neat little teepee at midriff level. Feet crossed at the ankles; chair tilted back. Hands flicking to grasp broad lapels on

the suit like men used to wear in the late 50's and early 60's. The desk checker-boarded with neat stacks of paper, each held down by a medallion paperweight. Walls formal, barren of the political memorabilia so common to the Washington Lawyer, even the former deputy assistant secretary who manages to procure the General Services Administration stock photograph to-my-good-friend-and-colleague-in-government of whatever President happened to be in office. Clifford wants no distractions.

Control. Never yield the initiative—but never seem to be grabbing for it,

either. Clark Clifford's look says okay, first question; and I ask it. The feet swing, and the teepeed hands slowly rise across his chest, and the eyes are with me, unblinking, and is it a smile or the permanent expression of a quizzical listener, the locked-on face that is unrevealing of emotion because it never changes. Whatever, the face grips me, and the teepeed hands open toward me, and Clifford is talking about my first question, which had something to do with his return to practice in 1969 after his year as Secretary of Defense. Certainly, that is fine to hear, and that is a very good question, and I think it shows insight. But first, would you mind if I gave you a little background on how I came to practice law in Washington? Now, not all of this will be useful to you, but you might find an item of color or two, and you go right ahead and interrupt me when you want to do so. Yes. Yes, certainly, and suddenly I am not hearing an answer to my question about 1969, but an account of Clark Clifford's first day in court in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1929, and the fact that he had evaded me by exactly forty years does not disturb me at all. I am too busy listening to the Gospel as spoken by Clark Clifford, and scribbling furiously through a legal pad, and we didn't return to 1969 for almost two hours. So what? Control.

Senator Stuart Symington, Clifford's longtime personal friend and fellow Missourian, used the same word a few days later. "Clark Clifford is the most controlled man I have ever met," Symington told me. "He can listen to facts without letting his emotions trip him up, and not be distracted by things that don't matter. He controls himself as well as a situation. Coffee bothered him, so he gave it up. The same thing with alcohol, just like that." Symington is a patrician man in his seventies, who served as Secretary of the Air Force before coming to the Senate. He has seen—and held—Washington power for more than a quarter of a century. "Without question, Clark Clifford is the most powerful man in town who has been in town since I've been here. He's a lawyer who does not have to look

From *The Superlawyers: The World of the Great Washington Law Firms* to be published next spring by Weybright and Talley.

STATINTL

VENTURA, CAL.  
STAR-FREE PRESS  
NOV 30 1971  
E - 31,084  
S - 30,953

## We've Got A Secret . . .

NOBODY CAN ACCUSE THE Central Intelligence Agency of overspending, because nobody seems to know how much it spends. Some senators raised questions about the CIA's super-secret (\$4 billion?) budget last week, and were told to mind their own business.

There are a couple of folks in Washington who claim to know what the CIA's allowance is, but they aren't talking. Whether they really know or simply want other people to think they do — they're keeping the secret, either way.

One of the I've-got-a-secret senators is John Stennis of Mississippi, who often sees money matters in patriotic terms, and is a man of no small faith. "If you're going to have an intelligence agency," said Sen. Stennis, "you've got to shut your eyes and take what comes."

Well, we have shut our eyes, and we've taken what has come: the Bay of Pigs, a U.S. invasion of Santa Domingo, a few coups in Latin America, assorted assassinations of enemy agents (or suspected double agents) in two hemispheres and other hard-to-explain goings-on around the world — not to mention Vietnam. . . .

If it's too much to ask for the American people to know what the CIA is up to, we should at least have some idea how much of our money is being spent to do it. Whatever the investment, the dividends haven't been very encouraging to date.

That is, unless you view them as Sen. Stennis suggests, with both eyes shut tight.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
TRIBUNE

NOV 29 1970  
M - 108,270  
S - 188,699

## A Many Splintered Thing

The American intelligence community since long before World War II has been, and remains to a large degree, a many splintered thing. Every agency needing fresh, accurate and secret information on which to formulate its plans and actions has developed its own set of spies. This lack of coordination and cohesiveness has become apparent with some disasters, most notably the Pearl Harbor attack of Dec. 7, 1941, and a lot of embarrassments such as the Bay of Pigs debacle and more recently the abortive commando raid on the deserted prisoner of war camp on Sontay, 23 miles west of Hanoi, on Nov. 21, 1970.

In 1947 the Central Intelligence Agency was established with the aim of coordinating all this nation's intelligence efforts. Besides the CIA, the U.S. intelligence network today includes the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and nuclear intelligence operations of the Atomic Energy Commission. The counter-intelligence activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation must also be included.

President Nixon, following what has almost become a presidential tradition after public disclosure of an intelligence failure, has shaken up the top levels of the American spy network. In an apparent hope of overcoming the shortcomings of the present system, Mr. Nixon has given Richard Helms, the CIA director, "an enhanced leadership role in planning, coordinating and evaluating all intelligence operations." Theoretically this is the authority that director of intelligence has had for years. But according to one official because of bureaucratic rivalry among competing intelligence agencies this has not always worked out.

Sens. Stuart Symington, D-Mo., and William J. Fulbright, D-Ark., have seen

Mr. Helms' new job more of a "demotion upstairs" than any enhanced leadership role. Their suspicions are understandable, considering the Sontay raid failure and the inability of the intelligence community to forecast the reaction of North Vietnam to the invasion of South Laos last February and March.

Bolstering the senator's suspicions must be the lack of concrete knowledge about the apparent leadership crisis in mainland China. This development comes at a time of delicate negotiations preceding Mr. Nixon's planned trip to Peking. It would be foolish for Mr. Nixon to make the journey without accurate knowledge of the power structure in Peking.

However, the concern of Sens. Symington and Fulbright that Mr. Helms has been "kicked upstairs" sounds more like the political reactions of two men who have consistently disagreed with the President, than the genuine concern of persons fearful the nation might be losing the needed talents of a highly competent intelligence administrator.

Instead the senators should be applauding the President for his efforts to bring greater coordination and cohesiveness to an intelligence effort that has become famous for Pearl Harbor, the Bay of Pigs and Sontay.

MIAMI HERALD

22 NOV. 1971

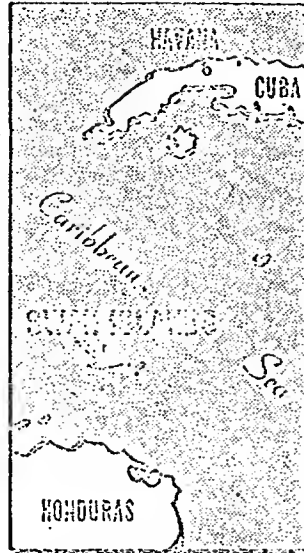
# Honduras Gets Islands Once Used by the CIA

By Herald Wire Services

SAN PEDRO SULA, Honduras — The Swan Islands, tiny, windswept sand spits in the western Caribbean that served as a focal point for U.S. cloak-and-dagger activity in the early 1960s, were officially turned over to Honduras Monday, ending a century-old charge of U.S. encroachment.

Robert Finch, as President Nixon's special emissary to Latin America, signed for the United States at the formal ceremony in this northern Honduran industrial city. He was joined by President Ramon Ernesto Cruz, who signed for Honduras.

"It is a great matter of principle for my country," Honduran Foreign Minister Andres Alvarado Puerto said. "It shows to the world what a great nation the United States is because the world's greatest power has recognized the legitimate claim of



Swan Islands

... long disputed

one of the small nations of the world."

FINCH ARRIVED here, the fifth stop on his six-nation tour, from Brazil. He was to

go to Mexico from Honduras. Accompanying Finch are White House Director of Communications Herb Klein and Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Charles A. Meyer.

The Swan Islands are inhabited by about 40 persons, among them five Americans who operate a weather and aircraft navigation station. The United States will continue to run these facilities. The total land area of the three islands in the group is about three square miles.

They also served as the site of a Central Intelligence Agency radio station broadcasting to Cuba during and after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and later to other points in Latin America.

THE CHICAGO Sun-Times reported Sunday that the final disposition of the station, and whether it will be used again by the CIA, will be subject to negotiations.



## Cuba Is There

New trouble impends for Cuba, but it may affect the United States as much as it will the ostracized island. Since the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs, U.S.-Cuban relations have been practically static, marked only by minor incidents and hijacked airliners. American negativism is almost total [see this issue, p. 524].

Now, according to Jerry Greene's column in the New York *Daily News*, a Cuban gentleman in exile named José de la Torriente plans to invade his homeland—not in the amateurish fashion of the Bay of Pigs but with careful planning and adequate preparation. Torriente appears to be a substantial counterrevolutionist; before Cuba turned to Castro he was a farmer (one assumes a big farmer), president of the Cuban Coca-Cola Company and general manager in charge of Latin American operations for the Collins Radio Company, a big outfit in the U.S. military-industrial complex. In October his organization launched a commando raid on the eastern Cuban port of Sama, allegedly held the town for more than an hour, killed fourteen or fifteen militiamen, disrupted communications and blew up the power plant, and withdrew without the loss of a man. These claims may be exaggerated, but there was a raid: Havana Radio mentioned it.

According to Torriente, this was only a start. He claims to have a professional military staff which held a unity convention in Miami in February 1970 and is engaged in coalescing the numerous Cuban exile factions. According to his estimate, 10,000 Cuban nationals have served hitches in the U.S. Army and Marine Corps. He says he is raising money all over the world, especially in Latin America, with the exception of Chile, Peru and Ecuador. His plan is to build up his organization to the point where it can attack as many as five ports in one night; then he will inform the U.N. that a state of war exists between his Free Cuban Nation and Castro's Cuba, and a blockade of the island will be enforced.

All this, according to Torriente, will be accomplished without American aid or the use of American bases. The CIA being what it is, that does not sound altogether convincing, although part of it may be true. The Bay of Pigs invasion was launched from Guatemala, which may still be available for such enterprises. But even if the United States is not directly involved at the outset, it will scarcely be able to remain aloof from a major counterrevolution in Cuba. The situation seems to have all the makings of another Caribbean embroilment. Would it not be more sensible to come to an understanding with Castro which would benefit both the United States and Cuba?

Approved For Release

RD

November 22 1971 / 50 0016

# News

# WHY THE SHAKE-UP IN INTELLIGENCE

**An urgent need for faster and more accurate information underlies latest moves by the President. Upshot: more say for civilians, less for military.**

Once again, the vast U. S. intelligence establishment is being reshaped by the White House. As a result:

- Presidential reins on the 5-billion-dollar-a-year "intelligence community" are to be tightened even more. Primary goal is to avoid repetition of recent disappointments in the quality of American intelligence.

- Fresh effort will be made to reduce costly duplication, overlapping and competition among the military intelligence agencies. The Pentagon appears to be a loser in the latest reshuffle.

- The civilian head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Richard Helms, is being given broader authority over the entire U. S. intelligence network—civilian and military.

Key man in the reorganization is Mr. Helms, a veteran of nearly 30 years in his field, who took over in June, 1966, the dual job of heading the CIA plus his role as the President's principal adviser on all intelligence.

Now, under a presidential order of November 5, Mr. Helms has the biggest say on how to allocate men, money and machines in the gathering of foreign intelligence for the U. S.

At the same time, the President assigned Henry Kissinger, the top White House adviser and Director of the National Security Council staff, new powers which give Mr. Kissinger a larger voice in determining the direction U. S. intelligence will take and in assessing the final results.

**Behind it all.** According to Government insiders, a major reason for the President's action was growing "consumer" dissatisfaction with the intelligence product, particularly with interpretation of the secret data collected.

Too often, these sources say, the President has been inundated with information he does not need, or fails to receive in sufficient quality or quantity the data he considers vital for decisions.

The most recent example, one White House aide disclosed, was unhappiness over the length of time it took to get reliable intelligence on current developments in Red China. The Communist Government had been undergoing a lead-

ership crisis just at the time of delicate Washington-Peking negotiations on the President's forthcoming trip to the Chinese mainland, but weeks went by before the U. S. was able to sift through a welter of conflicting reports.

Officials say that another big reason behind revamping of the intelligence command was the daring—but unsuccessful—attempt by the Army and Air Force on Nov. 21, 1970, to rescue U. S. prisoners of war from the North Vietnamese prison camp at Sontay, 23 miles west of Hanoi. American commandos landed at the camp by helicopter in a well-planned and executed raid. But intelligence had lagged, and the camp was empty. The prisoners had been moved.

One official in a position to know explains that after the White House made the initial decision to rescue the POW's, the CIA supplied a model of the camp and details of Sontay's daily operations as they were known at that time. The actual rescue assignment was given to the Army and Air Force, which had to select, train and rehearse the commando team. By the time the operation was launched, intelligence was out of date.

According to this official: "If Helms had been responsible for the operation—as he would be now under the reorganization—he could have kept current, probably would have learned that the prisoners were moved, and probably would have scrubbed the operation."

Government sources say the President also was irritated by failure of his intelligence agencies to forecast accurately North Vietnamese reaction to the South Vietnamese invasion of Southern Laos last February and March.

Congress has had harsh words for the military. The House Appropriations Committee on November 11 declared that "the upward trend in total intelligence expenditures must be arrested" and recommended a 181-million-dollar cut in the Defense Department's military-intelligence appropriations.

The Committee took aim at duplication of effort. "The same information is sought and obtained by various means and by various organizations," it said.



The President hopes to overcome these shortcomings by giving Mr. Helms what Mr. Nixon termed "an enhanced leadership role" in planning, co-ordinating and evaluating all intelligence operations.

The Central Intelligence Director has had for years, on paper, the responsibility of co-ordinating military and civilian intelligence. But this has not always worked in practice. The reason, according to one U. S. official: bureaucratic rivalry among competing intelligence agencies.

Mr. Helms also becomes chairman of a newly formed committee which will advise on formulation of a consolidated foreign-intelligence budget for the entire Government. This committee will decide which intelligence service has the people and assets to do a particular job efficiently and cheaply.

**Reshaping the network.** The President took these actions to strengthen the American intelligence system:

- Reorganized the U. S. Intelligence Board, which sets intelligence requirements and priorities. The Board, headed by Mr. Helms, includes representatives of the CIA, FBI, Treasury, Atomic Energy Commission and Defense and State Department intelligence agencies.

- Established a National Security Council Intelligence Committee, with Mr. Kissinger as chairman. It will include, besides Mr. Helms, the Attorney General, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Under Secretary of

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S - 709,123

NOV 21 1971

## A guano island

# Honduras wins secret CIA base

By Thomas B. Ross  
Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — After a decade as a center of U.S. cloak-and-dagger activities, a tiny island of bird droppings in the Caribbean is about to be returned to Honduras.

Reliable diplomatic sources said presidential assistant Robert H. Finch will formally give up U.S. claim to the island during his one-day visit to Honduras Monday.

The island, Swan Island, about 100 miles north of Honduras, is composed entirely of guano, the accumulated droppings of sea fowl. It has served as the sight of a covert Central Intelligence Agency radio station broadcasting to Cuba during and after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and later to other points in Latin America.

The sources indicated that final disposition of the station, and whether it will be used again by the CIA, will be subject to further negotiations.

### Claimed in 1863

The United States has claimed the island since 1863 under the Guano Act of 1865 which gave the President the right to designate an unclaimed island as U.S. territory

once an American citizen had discovered guano on it.

The New York Guano Co. was first licensed to collect and sell the island's guano, a valuable fertilizer rich in phosphates. Later an Alabama sea captain and finally the United Fruit Co. set up operations on the island.

The commercial interests were followed by the Weather Bureau, the Federal Aviation Administration and eventually the CIA.

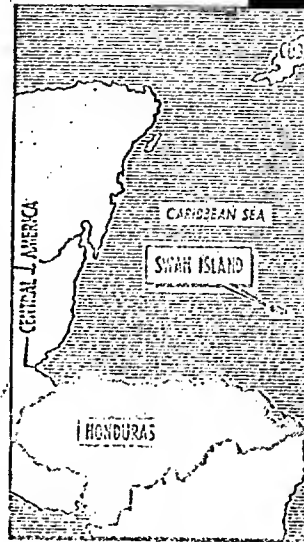
The CIA station originally operated as Radio Swan, which, in addition to political broadcasts, put out a variety of popular programs including one featuring a Cuban exile called Havana Rose.

### 'Hysterical parrots'

During the Bay of Pigs invasion, Radio Swan was on the air 24 hours a day, transmitting coded messages and mysterious orders to nonexistent battalions.

Havana Radio set up a counterbarrage, denouncing Radio Swan as "not a radio station but a cage of hysterical parrots."

After the invasion failed, the CIA station was renamed Radio Americas and continued



broadcasts to Cuba, Mexico, Central America and the upper tier of South America.

Shortly after the CIA established itself on Swan Island, a group of armed Honduran students sought to land on the island by force in 1960. They were repulsed singlehandedly by the weather bureau's cook but, after agreeing to lay down their arms, they were permitted to land, sing the Honduran national anthem and temporarily plant their flag.

### Protest in UN

They were protesting the fact that a U.S. census had been taken on the island that year, recording a population of 23, down four since 1950.

A few months later Honduras protested in the United Nations, claiming that "Historically, geographically and juridically" the island belonged to it.

After 10 years of diplomatic bickering, the United States has now recognized Honduras' claim and Finch will make it all official in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, Monday.

Finch will be in Honduras for only a few hours, arriving in the morning from Brazil and leaving in the evening for Mexico. He will return here on Thanksgiving Day after an 11-day tour of six Latin American countries.

16 NOV 1971

## Letters to the Editor

### J. F. Kennedy's Use of Force To the Editor:

While it is always distasteful to engage in public controversy—particularly one involving the reputation of a President so widely admired as the late John F. Kennedy—the Op-Ed column "J.F.K." in Retrospect" [Oct. 19] by William V. Shannon, requires response.

One of the issues raised by Mr. Shannon which indeed "deserves examination" is his contention that "the only time Kennedy used force was at the Bay of Pigs."

The Times' own "Pentagon Papers," however, reveal that President Kennedy and his advisers orchestrated the force which brought down and led to the assassination of South Vietnamese Premier Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu. (See "The Pentagon Papers" Documents Nos. 45-58.) It was this episode which created the leadership vacuum in South Vietnam and, more than any other single event, led to our increased involvement.

As for the Bay of Pigs episode, one cannot say the plan would have succeeded had it been carried out; what can be said is that the plan was not carried out. It was diluted and countermanded as a result of the President's indecision until failure was inevitable. President Kennedy himself in the end assumed full responsibility for the invasion and its failure, which cost some 300 lives and undermined the position of the United States around the world.

Again, during the Soviet missile build-up in Cuba, President Kennedy temporized until the missiles were in place and the confrontation that unnerved the world was inevitable. Weeks before the event, Senator Kenneth Keating of New York had given wide publicity both in and out of Congress to the growing threat of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Surely he was not the only Washington official to possess this crucial information. In

any event, when the threat could no longer be concealed, Kennedy took the public into his confidence, but by then the Soviets were ready and it was too late; nuclear confrontation was upon us.

Because of the Diem episode, because of the Bay of Pigs and its stepchild, the Missile Crisis, there is no doubt that the world is less secure for most of us today than when John Fitzgerald Kennedy became President.

It just may be that President Kennedy and his advisers, as has been claimed, were "out of their depth."

JOHN TOWER

United States Senator from Texas  
Washington, Nov. 9, 1971

# No next assignment for this spy

STATINTL

BY POLK LAFFOON

Once during the conversation his hands seemed to shake. He was lighting his second or third cigarette, rather a lot for the short time he had been talking. The nervous edge was peculiar — it didn't jibe with the kind of image Victor Marchetti had painted of himself.

A real-life spy who came in from the cold, Marchetti is a 14-year veteran of the Central Intelligence Agency who has just authored a book called "The Rope Dancer." The novel purports to show espionage work for what it really is, as Marchetti experienced it. What he described, while dressing last Tuesday morning, is hardly nerve-fraying.

"Not all spies are dashing, handsome, debonair," he said with anti-James Bond certainty. "The average spy is married and lives in the suburbs, belongs to the PTA, or is a scoutmaster." Marchetti was all of those things, and he indicated that his job was equally unextraordinary.

"I WORKED OUT of Washington, was permanently assigned to headquarters, and occasionally went on overseas assignments. For example, years ago we were interested in Soviet military aid, so I might go to Indonesia for as long as ten weeks, to try to get a better handle on what the Soviets were up to."

But most of the time, the ex-agent stressed, he was engaged in collating and interpreting vast supplies of information coming in from sources all over the globe. It was painstaking, arduous work, bureaucratic tedium that differed from corporate tedium only in that it dealt with national security instead of marketing strategy.

"The bulk of the information acquired today is through satellites, overhead sensors, and electronic sensors," Marchetti said, again subverting the martini-mistress mystique that permeates espionage literature. He added that much additional information comes through diplomatic and official channels, with newspapers and magazines providing most of the remainder."

FIDGETING RESTLESSLY, the aspiring writer smiled, and partially amended his de-romanticized "heresy."

"Maybe 10 per cent of all the people engaged in espionage work are back alley spies. But of these, 19 out of 20 are faking it under the cover of diplomacy. They try to acquire local agents in the country where they're working."

To the disillusionment of spy-novel aficionados everywhere, however, Marchetti emphasized that there are very, very few agents living overseas without cover, and that their contribution is of marginal value. "It's kind of like fishing — you throw them out and sooner or later you get a strike."

No clue to the speaker's own unease emerged as he discussed his idea for the book. "I was just sitting around talking with another agent. We were saying that things in the agency were so screwed up that it wouldn't be surprising to find that a Russian was running it. We meant it as a joke, of course, but that's where the book began."

WITH THE PUBLICATION of "The Rope Dancer," Marchetti terminated a long, distinguished career with the CIA. He was assistant to the director of the entire agency when he resigned, and prospects for the future were good. So why did he quit?

"I'd lost a great deal of faith in the agency and its policies. If I couldn't believe in it, I couldn't serve it," he said sounding more like a campus politician than a hardbitten "spy." In truth, Marchetti left for a variety of reasons, some of them intriguing for the insights they lend to the arcane workings of the CIA.

While hardly a secret, the CIA's budget for defense is spending far in excess of what it should for defense. He labels the \$50 billion poured into defense each year, and the \$30 billion more for Vietnam, as

absurd with the problems at home. "It's ridiculous over-kill. We're like two guys standing across the street from each other with triggers on mortars, cannons, and rockets. We don't need it," he said, looping his tie.

IN HIS VIEW, the same kind of thinking that led to the arms buildup is reflected in the structure of the modern CIA. "It's too big, too costly, with too much military influence." Marchetti says the quality of the agency's product — good data — has been diluted accordingly. "We need more control from within the organization, and more directly from the outside."

Separately, Marchetti condemns the "cold war mentality" that colors much of the CIA's thinking, and translates to poor estimates of the international situation. "Cuba is the perfect example," he said eagerly, recounting the misguided thinking that led the U.S. to back Batista against Castro under the mistaken assumption that most Cubans also were anti-Castro.

Then, he says, when Castro won after all, the U.S. labeled him a Marxist and forced him into Russia's embrace. "That's what's wrong with Vietnam and Laos today," Marchetti continues, "we're trying to support governments not representative of the people."

ALMOST TO THE end of his reasons for resigning from the CIA, the cheerful novelist finished dressing, and readied himself to face anew the rigorous publicity tour. And still he eluded any indication of why he seemed slightly edgy.

"I disliked the clandestine atmosphere one finds in an organization like the CIA," he said, finalizing the list. "What bothers me most is when some guys get restless in the CIA and military intelligence a few years ago. With groups like the SDS, the Black Panthers, and with civil unrest in general, people in the CIA began to wonder what they should do about it."

Drawing on yet another cigarette, Marchetti explained that such internal disorders are properly the co the FBI or the army, not the CIA. Nevertheless, vociferous minority of the agents — the "spooks" he calls them — began to say, "We're the experts. We should do the work."

THIS RATIONALE could lead to trouble at home as it already has in numerous small countries pockmarked by CIA interference. Marchetti disliked the trendline, and resigned.

Gathering papers together to go meet his public local representative, he mentioned that he was that he no longer is associated with an outfit involved in the conduct of the Vietnam war. He feels comfortable as he talks with his 17-year-old son, almost of fight the war, and a hearty disbeliever in it.

His clean conscience has been tempered by budgetary regrets, however. "I had to tell my son he wanted to go on to college, he'd have to manage way I did, by working his way through." Marchetti regrets that he has to be careful in acquiescing wife's requests for new living room furniture.

The problem is that in leaving the CIA, and a high within it, Marchetti was exercising an uncommon id — at least uncommon in 41-year-olds with a wife, three children. He left a \$23,000-a-year job, with promise of substantially more soon, for the vagaries knowns of a writer's life.

Marchetti is morally at peace with himself. Who precisely the key to his restlessness. He has a second in the works, and a possible movie contract, and he's a spy without his next assignment.

Incomplete as received.



11 Nov 1971

# Guatemalan Leftist Terrorism Drops; Rightists Still Active

Special To The Herald

## GUATEMALA CITY —

The level of terrorist violence, which spiraled to new highs here last July, declined in October for the first time in months.

The reason apparently was a significant drop in activity by the extreme left, seriously weakened by Guatemalan army raids on their arsenals and the capture of several dozen alleged leftist terrorists.

But terrorism still is a way of life here. Rightist terrorism has continued unabated in recent weeks and, according to some sources, may well have increased.

**THE SITUATION** has given rise to new charges that the Guatemalan government's anti-terrorist campaign has been and continues to be aimed at the leftist groups, while the rightist terrorists go about their activity with virtual impunity.

"Thousands of Guatemalan students at San Carlos University here began a strike recently to protest the situation, demanding also that the government lift the state of siege which is now almost a year old. There have also been numerous other demands that the siege be lifted.

But the government of President Carlos Arana Osorio so far refuses to be pressured into lifting the siege conditions which amount to virtual martial law for this Central American land of some 5.2 million people. Under the arrangement, normal political activity is proscribed and the army has the authority to arrest and search without warrant.

**SPOKESMAN** for the president, himself an army general who won the presidency in an election last year, say the state of siege is necessary because of the continued level of violence. But there are hints that President Arana may be getting ready to lift the siege, perhaps by Nov.

14, the anniversary of its imposition, but more likely around the first of the year.

Critics of the government say the siege has been used primarily against leftist terrorists and as a means of limiting normal political opposition to the government. The critics claim that the government has not moved against rightist terrorist groups, such as one known as Un Ojo Por un Ojo (An Eye for An Eye), which is widely believed to have support from elements within the Arana government.

Such criticism, which is gaining greater currency here, is believed to be getting to President Arana. There are hints that he is becoming concerned about the charges. In a recent meeting with a group of intellectuals and students, he is said to have denied the charges, but promised to look into them. Moreover, the army recently took action against one alleged rightwing group, seizing some weapons and roughing up some of its members.

**MEANWHILE**, students and clergy continue to protest the state of siege and have staged numerous demonstrations in Guatemala City in the past few weeks.

In early October, a group of 10 Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen signed a statement condemning the violence and implying that it was rightist terrorism that needed curbing. They called for an end to the "revenge and the systematic extermination of Guatemalan citizens, no matter who is responsible."

The government quickly denounced the clergymen and expelled two foreigners among the signatories — a U.S. Episcopal bishop, the Right Rev. William Frey, and a Spanish priest, the Rev. Jose Maria Marin Leon. They were accused of interfering in national politics.

One government source close to President Arana admitted later that the expul-

sion order may have been a little too hasty. "It attracted more attention to the clergymen's charges and perhaps we should have merely condemned the statement they made without taking any other action."

**BUT OBSERVERS** here are increasingly convinced that not until the rightist terrorism is brought under control will the protests against the government be stilled.

Meanwhile, the leftist groups which have cut back sharply on their activities still show signs of some strength. One of these groups apparently kidnapped and still holds Roberto Alejos Arzu, a wealthy Guatemalan businessman who allowed his land to be used by Cuban exiles training for the Bay of Pigs landing back in 1961. Alejos is regarded as staunchly rightwing. His whereabouts are not known, but it is believed he is still alive and that he is being held for a sizable ransom.

Alejos also has been linked with the An Eye for An Eye group, but it is not clear that he is actually a member of the terrorist cause.

**IT IS WIDELY** believed here that numerous army officers have connections with the rightist group. Among those often mentioned as members are Jorge Arenales Catalan, the interior minister; Gen. Leonel Vassaux Martinez, the defense minister, and Mario Sandoval

Alarcon, the president of the Guatemalan Congress.

There is some evidence that there is a growing element of moderates within the army who are unhappy about the image in which the army is held as a result of the recent charges — and they are pressuring president Arana

to take steps against the rightist terrorists.

But the situation remains uncertain and there is no evidence that Arana plans to take any significant action against the rightist elements, other than lifting the state of siege which in the view of some has allowed rightists to operate freely.

"General Arana is something of a prisoner of the right," one moderate Guatemalan politician here said. "His options are limited and he knows that if he moves too strongly against the right, he stands the possibility of unleashing rightist wrath against his government."

"But he also knows that more and more Guatemalans are unhappy about the rightist violence and want something done about it. He is going to have to tip his hand, one way or another — and fairly soon."

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN

19 Oct 1971

# Cuba Raiders Ex-GIs, Commando Chief Says

By MORT YOUNG

Special To The News American

NEW YORK — The commandos who staged an amphibious raid on Cuba last week were ex-GI's, 90 per cent of them former Special Forces troops, the leader of the Cuban Liberation Forces said Monday.

"They were all Cubans, all volunteers, all having been trained in the U. S. Army," Jose de la Torriente, 67, explained during an exclusive interview.

He also confirmed earlier information received from U. S. intelligence sources that the attackers had embarked from a Caribbean country to penetrate an estuary and raid the village of Boca de Sama in Oriente province, 50 miles from the U. S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay.

TORRIENTE SAID his group is supported by at least one Latin American nation and "supporters in Europe as well."

He stressed that the United States government was not involved in any way, commenting that "This is something Cubans must do for themselves."

Leaning over a maritime map, Torriente prodded his finger at Cuba's north coast, close to the island's eastern tip. "By the location of the attack, it is evident that the commando force could not have left from the United States," he said. "Nor did the group penetrate U. S. waters."

Asked what might happen if foreign warships attempted to head off future attacks, Torriente snapped: "We will fight. Whoever they are, we will fight. But," he added, "it is unlikely that a U. S. ship will ever have the opportunity to interfere. We stay clear of the U. S."

ONLY TORRIENTE and two sea," Torriente said. "Castro lied others knew the time and place of to preserve the myth of in the Oct. 12 attack, in order to invincibility."

prevent any warning being transmitted to Havana, he explained, "because Castro has people here, just as we have people there."

The CLF will make no effort to wage a guerrilla war in Cuba, Torriente said. "It is unnecessary.

Ninety five per cent of the Cubans are dissatisfied with Castro. When ten," Torriente promised.

that many are dissatisfied, they will rise up of their own accord. The Oct. 12 raid was the culmination of two years of preparation, Torriente said. The commando force spent one hour and 53 minutes in the Boca de Sama area, according to Torriente and the second man.

"Our purpose is to show that Castro is not invincible," he continued. "That is the myth he has created. And that is why we chose to attack Sama. We did not attack the fishing village, but the military installations."

"AND WE DID not kill two or three, as Castro claims, but between 12 and 15 military personnel. We tried to do as little harm to the civilian section of town as possible. We are not making war on our country, but on Castro's forces."

As Torriente spoke, a man connected with the raid spread documents on the floor. A survivor of the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, the man held up a red and black "26 Julio" belt, a memento of Castro's revolution, taken from the home of a security official the commandos had killed in a skirmish.

"These things are proof that we landed, not strafed from a boat at

TWO DAYS after the raid, Havana Radio reported two officials had been killed and four others wounded, three of them civilians, by machinegun fire from a speedboat.

"We will attack again and of-

When ten," Torriente promised.

The Oct. 12 raid was the culmination of two years of preparation, Torriente said. The commando force spent one hour and 53 minutes in the Boca de Sama area, according to Torriente and the second man.

## Ex-President's Personal Record

# Johnson Saw Need to Grasp Reins of Power Firmly, Quickly

STATINTL

By Lyndon B. Johnson

In spite of more than three decades of public service, I knew I was an unknown quantity to many of my countrymen and to much of the world when I assumed office.

I suffered another handicap, since I had come to the Presidency not thru the collective will of the people but in the wake of tragedy. I had no mandate from the voters.

A few people were openly bitter about my becoming President. They found it impossible to transfer their intense loyalties from one President to another. I could understand this, altho it complicated my task. Others were apprehensive. This was particularly true within the black community. Just when the blacks had had their hopes for equality and justice raised, after centuries of misery and despair, they awoke one morning to discover that their future was in the hands of a President born in the South.

Yet in spite of these yearnings for a fallen leader, in spite of some bitterness, in spite of apprehensions, I knew it was imperative that I grasp the reins of power and do so without delay. Any hesitation or wavering, any false step, any sign of self-doubt, could have been disastrous.

### Averaged 4 Hours Sleep

During my first thirty days in office I believe I averaged no more than four or five hours' sleep a night. If I had a single moment when I could go off alone, relax, and forget the pressures of business, I don't recall it.

On Saturday morning, Nov. 23, I walked into McGeorge Bundy's office in the basement of the White House and received an international intelligence briefing from John McCone, director of the Central Intelligence Agency. On that sad November morning in 1963 the international front was about as peaceful as it ever gets in these turbulent times. The world, it seemed, had ceased its turmoil for a moment—caught in the shock of John Kennedy's death.

President Kennedy had kept me well informed on world events, so I was not expecting any major surprises in that first intelligence briefing.

Only South Viet Nam gave me real cause for concern. The next day, Nov. 24, I received my first full-dress briefing from Henry Cabot Lodge, who had just returned to Washington from his post as ambassador in Saigon. But compared with later periods, even the situation in Viet Nam at that point appeared to be relatively free from the pressure of immediate decisions.

The most important foreign policy problem I faced was that of signaling to the world what kind of man I was and what sort of policies I intended to carry out.

### Met with De Gaulle

On Monday, Nov. 25, I met with President Charles de Gaulle of France. Just a few hours before our conversation, I received a report from Paris of a recent meeting between De Gaulle and an allied ambassador. They had discussed what the European response would be in the event of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

"The Vantage Point," former President Lyndon B. Johnson's own story of his five years in the White House, is one of the key books of our time. In this highly personal record, and in this, the second in a series of 12 excerpts, President Johnson recalls the days of transition after he took office on that grim November day in Dallas.

President de Gaulle, according to the report, had said that the United States could not be counted on in such an emergency. He mentioned that the U. S. had been late in arriving in two world wars and that it had required the holocaust of Pearl Harbor to bring us into the latter.

With this account fresh in my mind, I met with the French president. I thanked him for crossing the Atlantic to express the sympathy of France in our hour of sadness.

The general spoke of the affection that both he and the French people had felt for John Kennedy. He then went on to say that the difficulties between our two countries had been greatly exaggerated, and that while changing times called for certain adjustments in our respective roles, the important thing was that Frenchmen knew perfectly well they could count on the U. S. if France were attacked.

I stared hard at the French president, suppressing a smile. In the years that followed, when De Gaulle's criticism of our role in Viet Nam became intense, I had many occasions to remember that conversation. The French leader doubted—in private, at least—the will of the United States to live up to its commitments. He did not believe we would honor our NATO obligations, yet he criticized us for honoring a commitment elsewhere in the world. If we had taken his advice to abandon Viet Nam, I suspect he might have cited that as "proof" of what he had been saying all along: that the U. S. could not be counted on in times of trouble.

Having met with the leader of France, our oldest ally, I turned to our relations with an adversary: the Soviet Union. On Tuesday morning, Nov. 26, Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan came to my office. I knew that I was dealing with one of the shrewdest men ever to come up thru the Communist hierarchy. One of the few surviving Bolsheviks with real power, Mikoyan had been brought to Moscow by Stalin in 1926, had escaped innumerable purges and had demonstrated an uncanny ability to survive and to associate himself with the right faction at the right time.

### Not All Pleasantries

We talked for 55 minutes and the conversation was not all diplomatic pleasantries. I remembered how Nikita Khrushchev had misjudged President Kennedy's character and underestimated his toughness after their 1961 meeting in Vienna. That misjudgment, many people believe, led Khrushchev to test the U. S. with a new crisis in Berlin. I considered it essential to let Mikoyan understand that while the U. S. wanted peace more than anything else in the world, it would not allow its interests, or its friends' and allies' interests, to be trampled.

17 OCT 1971

STATINTL

The Situation Room

# The Nerve Endings in the White House Basement

By Aldo Beckman

Mr. Beckman is a member of The Tribune's Washington Bureau. He is assigned to the White House.

WASHINGTON—More than 1,000 intelligence reports a day pour into a plainly decorated suite of rooms nestled into a corner of the White House basement.

Many are routine but the knowledge that reports of any attack on the United States by a hostile power would reach here first creates a pressure-cooker atmosphere for the young staff that mans the facility 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

There are no holidays in the White House Situation Room, the strategically important focal point upon which the President of the United States must rely for instant information. Modern communications, well-organized dissemination procedures and a dedicated staff are intertwined with a world-wide intelligence network and aimed at a goal of informing the President of events anywhere in the world within minutes after they occur.

## Dependent on Other Agencies

David McManus, 34, the quietly confident director of the Situation Room is quick to emphasize that the success of his operation is dependent, in a large measure, to similar intelligence-receiving facilities in the Departments of State and Defense, and in the Central Intelligence Agency.

"We live off the fruits of other agencies," he said during an interview in the paneled conference room, where the indirect lighting, the cork wall designed for easy stamping of world maps, and the impressive-looking rectangular conference table leave a visitor with the feeling that the room could be used as a movie prop for a White House war room.

McManus, in an obvious effort to stifle interagency rivalries that once were rampant in the United States intelligence community, estimated that 97 per cent of the reports reaching the Situation Room—which actually is made up of a dozen rooms—are relayed thru other

agencies. Diplomatic cables go first to the Department of State, intelligence reports are routed to the Central Intelligence Agency, and military updates are moved to the Pentagon.

However, intelligence outposts, whether they are radar stations in the frozen Arctic keeping an eye on flight patterns of Soviet bombers over the North Pole, or intelligence vessels trailing a Soviet submarine off the North Carolina coast, have the capability to flash information directly to the White House.

## Dozen Teletype Machines

The overthrow of a head of state, unusual bomber deployments by a potentially hostile power, or the sighting of missiles heading toward the United States would be flashed directly to the White House Situation Room.

The reports move into the White House on one of a dozen teletype machines in the bomb shelter under the East Wing and are dispatched immediately to the Situation Room, in the West Wing, via a pneumatic tube, arriving there 34 seconds later.

One of the two or three duty officers on duty receives the report and has the authority to instantly and personally contact the President, regardless of the time of day or night, if he believes the report is of such importance. The capability for instant Presidential contact is maintained by the Army Signal Corps and is there whether the President is sleeping in the White House residence, working in his Oval Office, on board Air Force I over the Pacific, or riding in a motorcade thru downtown Belgrade.

"If the missiles are coming our way, the President has to know it," McManus explained.

Those same duty officers also have the authority to immediately contact Henry Kissinger, Nixon's assistant for national security affairs, or McManus, if a report arrives that requires some quick attention.

## Kissinger Occasionally Called

Kissinger is occasionally called, and McManus receives several calls a week on the White House phone next to his bed.

He and James Fazio, 33, deputy director of the Situation Room, take turns being "on call." Whoever is on call never goes to bed without telephoning the duty officer for an update on reports and, when not in bed, is never without a "page boy," an electronic device the size of a tiny transistor radio whose buzz can be activated in the Situation Room, signalling its carrier to immediately telephone his office.

The two young intelligence analysts also take turns coming into the office shortly after dawn to put the finishing touches on the President's daily intelligence briefing.

The three or four page report, carrying 10 to 12 single or double paragraph items, represents the highlights of reports received during the previous 24 hours. Kissinger wants it by 8 a. m. and sometimes asks that items be reworded to more accurately reflect his feeling on a subject.

"It's our daily newspaper," said McManus, "but we don't try to be comprehensive." An effort is made, however, to focus on what currently is under discussion in the National Security Council.

The daily briefing, which Kissinger carries in to the President, is not intended to serve as a working paper, but is designed to present, in capsule form for the chief executive, the latest developments thruout the world.

Daily status reports on the action in South Viet Nam are included. Several weeks ago, Nixon learned the results of a bombing raid he had ordered to wipe out a fuel dump near the demilitarized zone in North Viet Nam, when he read the report from the Situation Room.

Nixon has spent little time in the room since his inauguration, in marked contrast to his predecessor.

"President Johnson was here a lot," recalled McManus, who served as liai-

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## Red Propaganda Called a Peril

WASHINGTON — Ruby Hart Phillips of Miami, former New York Times correspondent in Cuba, warned Thursday that Communist propaganda is undermining U.S. influence in Latin America.

Mrs. Phillips told a House internal security subcommittee that "Latin Americans have become convinced that the United States is far weaker than the Soviet Union" and that U.S. prestige is at its lowest level in history.

"They are all turning to the Communists," Mrs. Phillips said. She said that, in addition to a propaganda barrage in the news media of Latin American countries, the Communists have infiltrated the universities, Army and labor movement.

Mrs. Phillips said the United States should vigorously attack Communist influence, perhaps through radio stations that could be set up to broadcast to each country.

Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R., Ohio) invited Mrs. Phillips to testify before the subcommittee, which Thursday concluded hearings on the influence of communism in Latin America and the danger of its being exported from Cuba to the Western Hemisphere nations.

Mrs. Phillips said she was Cuba correspondent for the Times from 1937 through the Bay of Pigs invasion, after which she reported from Miami.

She said she began to suspect Fidel Castro's adherence to communism even before he took power. Mrs. Phillips said Castro's use of propaganda made him dictator.

Mrs. Phillips estimated that Castro ordered 20,000 Cubans and four Americans to be executed and that he holds 100,000 political prisoners.

"Castro won by propaganda, not by guerrilla warfare," Mrs. Phillips said.

That same tactic, she said, is being used by Communists in other countries where "they are penetrating labor, government and getting the key positions and the U.S. government has done nothing to fight it."

# Guatemala Kidnap Victim Is Believed to Be Alive

By FRANK SOLER  
Herald Latin America Staff

Nearly two months after his kidnaping in Guatemala, Roberto Alejos, wealthy Guatemalan businessman-politician with banking ties in Miami, is believed still alive, according to informed sources.

Alejos, honorary chairman of South Miami's Fidelity National Bank, was abducted from his car on a Guatemala City street Aug. 5, apparently by left-wing terrorists.

The 46-year old Alejos has not been heard from since; or at least no report of his fate or whereabouts has been made public.

AT LEAST one authenticated letter reportedly has been sent to Alejos' wife, Cristina Hegel, at their home in the Guatemalan capital.

In the letter, the kidnapers reportedly demanded \$500,000 to set Alejos free.

Whether the ransom has been paid or whether negoti-



Roberto Alejos  
... abducted Aug. 5

ations are now under way to pay it is a closely guarded secret.

Neither the family, close associates nor the Guatemalan government is discussing the case.

THE ALEJOS kidnaping was the latest in a series of incidents that have kept Guatemala in turmoil for years — the result of an undec-

layed war between extremists of the right and of the left.

Alejos, a coffee grower and auto dealer, is well known in Miami, mainly in business and financial circles and in the Cuban exile community.

The 1961 exile Bay of Pigs invasion, supported by the CIA, was trained at the Alejos coffee plantation in Guatemala.

A one-time presidential candidate there, Alejos left after a military coup in 1963 and settled as an exile in Miami's Palm Island. While here, he acquired business interests in Dade County.

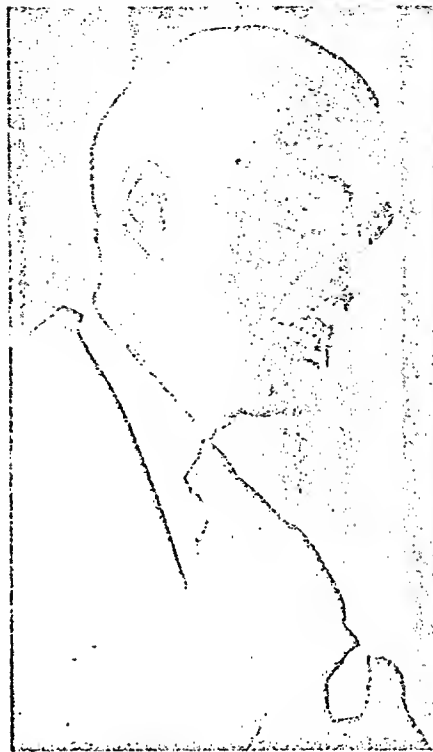
ALEJOS returned to Guatemala after constitutional government was restored in 1966.

In 1960, he and another Guatemalan purchased controlling interest in the Fidelity National Bank of South Miami. Alejos was named honorary chairman, a position he still holds, although he resides in Guatemala.



EXCLUSIVE  
PROFILE

CIA  
BOSS  
RICHARD  
HELMS



Cool and cunning, Helms knows what the Reds are thinking even before they think it -- which makes the CIA the most deadly-efficient fact-finding corps in the world

By ARCHER SCANLON

He's Outfoxed Castro,  
Mao, And The Kremlin

AMERICA'S  
TOP  
SUPER SPY